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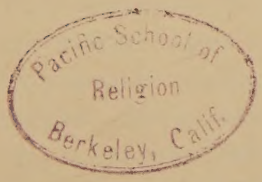

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THE SYRO-PHŒNICIAN WOMAN.

In a scene recorded in the first two Gospels the Saviour is represented as conversing with a woman from the region of Tyre and Sidon. The narrative occurs in Matthew xv. 21–28 and Mark vii. 24–30. In the former the woman is styled a *Canaanite*, in the latter a *Hellenis*, Syro-phœnician by race. "Phœnician" is at times in the LXX a rendering of the Hebrew "Canaanite," and the prefix Syro is used to distinguish the Syrian Phœnicians from the African. In the second Gospel "Syro-phœnician by race" represents "from those regions" in the Matthæan text. The word Canaanite occurs nowhere else in the New Testament. Its sense here is probably "pagan." The reason of the substitution of *Hellenis* will appear presently.

In the Greek text of Matthew the Master is with His disciples in the open air. Approaching the Phœnician country they are met by a woman from those parts who requests help for a daughter who is possessed. Christ is silent. The disciples urge that she be "let go," to which Christ replies that He is not sent but to the lost sheep of the House of Israel. The woman renews her importunity and is told that it is not permissible to take the children's bread and cast it to the puppies. She retorts that puppies are in fact allowed to eat the crumbs that fall from their master's table. She is then praised for her faith and her request is granted.

There are several features in this narrative which occasion surprise. In the first place it is difficult to think of the

healing power as something whereof the quantity is limited so that its exercise on one person reduces the supply left for others. In the second the designation of non-Israelites as dogs—for the diminutive does not get rid of this, though it may be intended to soften it—might be expected of some fanatical Rabbi, but certainly not of the Speaker here ; least of all in an address to a woman who is pleading for her daughter, and even in the hard-hearted would arouse some sympathy and respect.

In the third place the reply to the disciples, who demand that she be let go, implies that they mean that her request should be granted ; since otherwise the statement " I was not sent," etc., would not be obviously appropriate. Yet it is difficult to suppose the disciples more liberally inclined than their Master ; and a very similar miracle wrought in favour of a non-Israelite was recorded in viii. 5–13, where it is added that " the sons of the kingdom " would be expelled and others take their places ; faith such as had been displayed not being found in Israel.

Now the Lewisian Syriac of Matthew, where difficulties occur in this Gospel, either solves them or contributes towards their solution. In the present case it does the former. By the addition of a little word *these* it entirely changes the sense of the reply to the disciples : *I was not sent save unto* (Curetonian *after*) *these sheep which have strayed from the house of Israel.* " These sheep " can refer only to the woman and the class to which she belonged. The theory of a spiritual Israel is familiar in other parts of the New Testament. The omission of the word *these* (which the Greek MS. D preserves or restores) produces a sentiment which may be said to be the reverse of what is intended.

Only the verse as the Lewisian has it suits the context. When the disciples want the woman to be sent away, they act as the crowd do in xx. 31 ; they are not more liberal,

but less liberal than their Master. The reply is not to the effect that He was not sent to such persons as the suppliant, but that it was to that very class that He was sent.

The reply then given to the woman reads in the Syriac : *It is not seemly to take the bread which the sons fling to the dogs.* The woman's reply is : *Yea, Lord, even the dogs eat of their masters' tables and live.*

Merx (whose services in interpreting this document are very great) supposes the first sentence to be a meditation of the Saviour, in the form of a question : " Is it not proper for me to take away the bread which the sons (i.e. the Israelites) reject ? " This suggestion cannot well be accepted, since the text states that the words were addressed to the woman, and they are answered by her. Nor can the word which in the Syriac represents *take* be rendered " Take away." Further, there is nothing to indicate that the sentence should be rendered interrogatively. It is rather to be regarded as indicating what it is not proper for the woman to do ; it is unseemly to take what is cast to the dogs. This is indeed a maxim which occurs in the verses ascribed to Phocylides, but which are thought to belong to a Jewish writer of the first or second century B.C., or the first century A.D. Line 144 runs : [1]

μήδ' ἄλλου παρὰ δαιτὸς ἔδοις σκυβάλισμα τραπέζης.
Neither eat thou the dog-throwings of the table from another's feast.

It is intended as an injunction against begging, like Ecclesiasticus xl. 29 ; in the present context it has the double appropriateness that the work of Christ had been rejected by the Galilæan cities (Matt. xi. 20–24), which remained in unbelief where Tyre and Sidon would have been moved to repentance ; and that the " feast " might well be described as that of another.

The woman's reply is also taken from a Greek verse, but

[1] Bergk's *Lyrici Graeci*, ed. 3, ii. 102.

by a more familiar author, Homer. In *Odyssey* xvii. 309 occur the words :

τραπεζῆες κύνες ἀνδρῶν
γίγνοντ' ἀγλαίης δ' ἕνεκεν κομέουσιν ἄνακτες.
Dogs become men's table-mates and their masters cherish them for show.

The smartness of the repartee is necessarily lost in translation, as one of the points is that it commences with the same word as that which terminates the first quotation. Its sense is that what is given to the dogs is not necessarily worthless ; there are cases wherein dogs eat at their masters' tables and yet live—are not destroyed.

It is clear that both the objections noticed are avoided by the Lewisian text ; Christ does not call the woman a dog, neither is the healing gift made limited in quantity. Further, the origin of the Greek text from the Syriac is easily explicable. The Syriac particle *Da* serves for both " of " and " which," and mistranslation of this particle led to a misconception of the whole sentence.

If the quotations have been rightly identified, it must be admitted that they have undergone some alteration in the course of their transference from the original Greek to the Syriac Gospel, but scarcely more than we at times find in the case of quotations from the Old Testament where verification and rectification would have been far easier. That the dialogue with the Canaanite woman was in Greek is not surprising ; and the verses ascribed to Phocylides are likely to have been known to Israelites who studied Greek. A further reference to them appears to be found in the parable of the Unjust Steward, whose words, " I have no strength to dig ; to beg I am ashamed," may well be an allusion to the words which in the poem immediately follow the line that has been quoted. Those who have no trade are there advised to dig with the spade rather than to beg. And with the quotation from the *Odyssey* we might com-

pare the phrase "We have piped to you and ye did not dance" (Matt. xi. 17), which Professor Drews traces with justice to Herodotus i. 141. The words "Now the witticism has been justified by its (i.e. this generation's) children," which (with the guidance of Merx) we may substitute for the unintelligible "And wisdom was justified of its children," show that the passage which precedes is a reproduction of something in literature; it must be admitted that the adage of Cyrus given by Herodotus does not account for the whole of the "wisdom" cited in the Gospel.

The notion of dogs eating of their masters' tables doubtless belongs to Hellenic rather than to Jewish circles, but this is the case with the puppies under the table in Mark's account. The Jewish Oral Tradition appears to forbid the breeding of dogs altogether. One Rabbi argued from Job vi. 14 that one who reared a dog in his house withheld mercy from his neighbour. His argument was that the first word in that verse *LMS*, meant "dog" in Greek.[1] The word intended is probably *Molossos*, a familiar name for a sort of sheepdog. Even with this interpretation of the word the verse can only be made to produce the required sense with the greatest difficulty. In the Parable of Dives and Lazarus (Luke xvi. 21) the dogs which come for scraps clearly come from outside. And that indeed is their proper place (Rev. xxii. 15).

Hence whether the Syriac or the Greek theory of the passage be correct, the institutions with which it deals are pagan, not Jewish. In favour of the Greek view it may be said that the point of the repartee is somewhat clearer; to one who objects that good food ought not to be given to dogs it is a sound reply that the dogs after all are allowed scraps. In the Syriac the appropriateness of the reply depends to some extent on the fact that actual verses are cited in both cases. But whereas in the Greek it is Christ

[1] B. *Sabbath* 63 a, b.

who magnifies the gift and vilifies the suppliant, in the Syriac the woman magnifies the gift and vilifies herself. She does not compare the healing of her daughter to a scrap that is left to the dogs. Her point is that what is " thrown to the dogs " is not necessarily worthless ; and the Homeric quotation amply proves this.

In the First Gospel the woman is granted her request on account of her faith ; in the Second (vii. 29) " on account of this word." This might seem to suit the Syriac better than the Greek of Matthew ; but otherwise the account in Mark seems to be based on the Greek of Matthew, and indeed on parts of the narrative which it does not reproduce ; an indication of the difficulty of analysing sources where they no longer exist. In Matthew the scene takes place in the open air ; the Master and His disciples are walking and the woman follows them. In Mark it takes place in a house, which Jesus has entered in order to be concealed. It has been rightly observed that this feature is due to the words *I have not been sent save to the lost sheep of the house of Israel*, though Mark does not reproduce them ; for these words imply that on this journey Christ was not preaching, but reposing. Further, the word *Hellenis* is likely to mean " proselyte," and that the woman belonged to this class may have been inferred from her addressing Jesus as " Son of David," though this feature too is omitted by Mark. Then to the words about the children's bread there is prefixed the sentence : *Suffer the children to be satisfied first.* The proselyte would be one whose claims might well be postponed to those of true Israelites, yet ought not to be neglected altogether. Then her repartee, *The puppies under the table eat of the children's crumbs*, means that such claims need not be postponed ; while the children were eating they would be dropping crumbs which the puppies would be allowed to catch.

The two objections, the opprobrious epithet, and the theory that the healing gift is limited in quantity, are both unaltered in this account. They can only be avoided by accepting the account of the matter in the Old Syriac.

In the famous " testimony " of Josephus, the genuineness and the spuriousness of which seem equally difficult to maintain, it is asserted that Jesus attracted large numbers of Greeks. The evidence of the Gospel would seem to be in favour of the supposition that the religious reform commenced by John the Baptist attracted adherents outside the Jewish community ; and this must be the meaning of the assertion that from the time of the Baptist the Kingdom of Heaven was being stormed (Matt. xi. 12), i.e. seized by those who were not naturally " children of the Kingdom." In the preaching of John the Israelites were told to beware of relying on their claim to be Abraham's children ; God could raise up children to Abraham out of these " stones," perhaps, as we might say " clods," persons with no claim to learning or intelligence. It is curious that it is easier to find examples of this use of the word " stone " in Greek classical literature than in Hebrew or Aramaic. A passage of Aristophanes contrasts the " stones " with the wise.[1]

And indeed the breaking down of the barrier between Jews and Gentiles followed unavoidably from the abrogation of those laws whereby the former were kept separate. If food could not defile the man, Gentile food could clearly be eaten without danger ; the fear of defilement which had kept Daniel and his comrades from eating the king's food was now futile. If the Sabbath was made for man and not *vice versa*, one of the chief barriers between the two communities was removed. There is indeed no reference in the first Gospel to the initiatory rite of Judaism ; but it is not to be believed that any importance can have been assigned

[1] *Clouds* 1202 ; ἡμέτερα κέρδη τῶν σοφῶν ὄντες λίθοι.

to that matter by a mind which could break loose from the food and Sabbath tabus, which constitute the main atmosphere of the Jewish religion. If however the new system abrogated all that separated Jew from Gentile, there was no reason why the latter should be excluded from it; for the notion of an Israelitish race there was substituted that of an Israelitish community, out of which Gentiles had strayed.

What perhaps is not ordinarily emphasised is that this breaking down of the barriers began with John the Baptist. Up to his time the Law and the Prophets had kept the Israelitish community confined to the Jews; John's preaching had been addressed to a wider circle, and "the violent" had appropriated the Kingdom of Heaven. "A Gentile is, generally speaking, a man of violence"[1] is an aphorism of Talmudic lore, to which there may be an allusion in this place. In many a parable the substitution of the Gentiles for the Jews as heirs of the Kingdom is announced. The question which appears to have been so vigorously debated in Apostolic times was, according to this, decided without the possibility of doubt at the commencement of Christianity. Peter should not have needed the vision wherein he was forbidden to call anything common or unclean, if he had grasped the doctrine that food possesses no power to defile the man.

The process of "Judaising," which Merx notices in the Greek form of the narrative which has been discussed, would seem to have been very thorough. The omission of the word "these" transformed the Saviour's assertion that He was sent to those "who were not of this fold" into the very contrary; the complaint that the Gospel was flung away by those to whom it was first addressed is so altered that the opprobrious epithet "dogs" is bestowed on the Gen-

[1] *Baba Bathra*, 45a (wrongly cited by Levy from *Sanhedrin*).

tiles. Whatever critical results should be accepted about the historicity of the Acts and the Epistle to the Galatians —and the question is extraordinarily complicated—it is clear that Jewish Christianity at one time adopted an attitude of violent hostility to Gentile Christianity, which however ultimately triumphed. To the champions of the former the notion of a mission of Christ to the heathen must have seemed in the highest degree incongruous ; hence the inclination to render the Syriac in such a way as to remove this notion. It is evidence of the high antiquity of the Lewisian text in this passage that it is free from the tampering which the Greek version displays ; but there is reason for thinking that the Lewisian document, though of higher antiquity than any other form of the Gospel, is not quite the original form of the work ; whence such a passage as x. 5, in which missions to the heathen and to Samaritans are expressly forbidden, and " the stray sheep " identified with nominal Israelites, may not deserve implicit trust, though we have no earlier text whereby it can be checked.

Acquaintance with the Greek language is sometimes assumed on our Lord's part, and the narrative which has been studied would seem to prove it ; and indeed the capacity to cite and recognise verses would imply a literary acquaintance with the language, such as could only be acquired by the perusal of books. It is rather remarkable that the words which St. Paul heard in his vision from the Risen Saviour,[1] though in the Hebrew idiom, were in part a phrase belonging to Pindar or Aeschylus.

If the " sheep that have strayed from the house of Israel " were not the *diaspora*, but the Gentiles, it is likely that the case of the Syro-phœnician woman—in whatever sense we interpret the particular cure implied—was not isolated, but typical. Nor indeed can the words to which reference has

[1] Acts xxvi. 14.

been made, about the Kingdom of Heaven being stormed by intruders, be regarded as a true description of what had been taking place, unless the words of Josephus which speak of Christ attracting many of the Greek (i.e. pagan) community be historically based. It is curiously interesting in this narrative to be able to recover some fragment of the original dialogue, owing to the fact that a quotation from one Greek writer of verse was answered by a quotation from another, and both passages are capable of identification.

D. S. Margoliouth.

SOME NOTES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF JESUS.

Having considered[1] some of the factors which we have reason to believe had no small part in the development of Jesus we may now attempt to deal with certain other factors which were involved in the same. When we are discussing a personality so exceptional as Jesus, "a swift-winged soul," incomparably endowed from the first with that signal quality of *σύνεσις* (Luke ii. 47), it is scarcely possible to think of anything that would not in some way contribute to its growth. Thus to one who had the long deep gaze of the seer in His eye,

"the heart that watches and receives,"

Nature must needs have brought out of her treasure things new and old. And as for the sacred writings it is needless to argue the point that to one who was more than any scribe instructed in the truths of the kingdom of heaven, they too must needs have proved an inexhaustible *θησαυρός* (Matt. xiii. 52).

But greatly as factors such as these may be thought to

[1] Reference may be made to "Some Notes on the Development of Jesus" in Expositor, December, 1920.

have entered into His development there are others still more personal, as one may think, and still more potent in their way and work upon it. What about the persons who companied with Jesus, or with whom He companied, and from whom He received instruction, stimulus, suggestion, and the like? For one whose life was destined to be lived in the midst of persons, and to exert an influence upon them the like of which has never been approached on earth, must Himself, surely, have known the influence, or the effluence, of persons and drawn it in to the depths of His being. It has often been surmised that Jesus during the long sequestered years in Nazareth lived a lonely and even an isolated life, but, perhaps, it was not so lonely or so isolated once we gather up the fragments of the evidence there is and try to appreciate or appraise the love with which He loved His home, and the pain with which it pained Him to renounce it.

Now there is a difficult saying which, like so many of His sayings, seems to contain a backward as well as a forward glance, and sheds no little light upon His early life.

> "If any man cometh unto me
> and hateth not his own father and mother,
> and wife and children, and brethren, and sisters,
> yea, and his own life also,
> he cannot be my disciple."—(Luke xiv. 26.)

Matthew (x. 37) records an utterance somewhat similar, and yet so different, that, as one has said, "it is difficult to come to a definite decision concerning their relationship." No doubt the evangelists, here as elsewhere, depend upon different sources, and it may be that Luke has been influenced by Mark x. 29, although it does not seem essential to suppose that *μισεῖν* "must be assigned to him," seeing that the same passionate word is found in a parallel passage Matt. vi. 24; Luke xvi. 13. As to this passage it has been suggested that the setting in Luke is the original one rather

than that of the Sermon on the Mount, which implies that it was uttered only once. But there are other sayings of Jesus which include the word, and it occurs in John xii. 25.

So far, therefore, as the word is concerned, there does not appear to be any reason why we should not regard the saying as it stands in Luke xiv. 26 as authentic, and, if so, then, issuing as it does from his own experience like all his great affirmatives, it stands for something which nothing less than such a drastic mode of speech availed to express. Jesus at the time was passing through cities and villages, teaching, and journeying on into Jerusalem to die (Luke xiii. 22), and going with Him were great multitudes (Luke xiv. 25), who had still but little understanding of His person or His work, and even less inclination, it would seem, to take His yoke upon them and follow Him. He, on the other hand, was full both of the understanding of, and the determination to face, the fiery trial confronting Him (πλὴν δεῖ με πορεύεσθαι, Luke xiii. 33); and turning to the multitude He said :

> "If any man cometh unto me,
> and hateth not his own father . . .
> he cannot be my disciple."

One cannot but agree with the late Principal Denney when he says that "psychologically it seems probable that the terrible word hate expresses the pain with which Jesus Himself had made the renunciation which He demands from others. He knew how sore it was, and "hate" is a kind of vehement protest against the pleas to which human nature, and much that is good in it, as well as much that is evil, is only too ready to give a hearing. It is as though He could not afford to let these tender voices be heard, so painful was it to silence them." And he rightly adds as against Loisy that "this is the very opposite of making small account of them."[1] It stands out, in truth, as an invaluable

[1] *Jesus and the Gospel*, p. 233.

piece of evidence—another of those shafts of light from the depths of His inner life lighting up His outer life—which leaves us in no doubt at all of the strength of the bonds that bound Him to His home, and how it rent His heart to give them up, or at least to hold them subject, wholly, to His Father's will.

That Jesus had it in Him to use such language deliberately in relation to the home, and the affections of the home, "language sharper than any two-edged sword," shows how profoundly these affections had absorbed His life, and how it was only when a higher and even holier affection had dawned upon Him, and begun to direct and rule His steps that He had Himself to make the choice not between the worse and the better, but between the better and the best, which is an infinitely harder choice, the same irrevocable choice as He required of men (cf. Luke ix. 58; xviii. 22; Matt. xx. 22). It is surely another indication of His wonderful sense of the worth of the home as one of the creative factors of His life, and of what He owed to the home. For only through the exercise of its affections to the full could He ever have come to perceive and to feel the power of that other affection at the call of which He could not choose but bring them to its feet. In the case of conflict betwixt the loves of home and heaven His course was clear. To a love like His, which had mounted through the lesser to the greater, there could not be the shadow of a shade of doubt. He had already thought and fought the matter out, and His love was too full of σύνεσις to turn to any other way than that of the narrow gate of the Highest.

> "We needs must love the highest when we see it,
> Not Lancelot, nor another."

Now Mark records a striking incident in this connexion, and is alone in recording it, that on one occasion when He had come home, or was "indoors," as the phrase εἰς οἶκον

is a vague one, the crowd collected again, blocking up the house to such an extent that "they could not even take their food." On hearing of the crowd and the strange commotion excited by their kinsman, His friends or His family (*οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ*) set off from Nazareth to seize Him and place Him under restraint, for they said, "He is out of His mind" (Mark iii. 20–21). Clearly, the story as it stands in Mark with its significant omission by Matthew and Luke leaves the impression that it was His relatives who held this view of Him, and were prompt to act accordingly.

Abbott, however, in his own discerning way, reminds us that "the extraordinary freedom of Mark's text elsewhere in using the third person plural of a verb without a pronominal subject, to mean that people '*said*' or '*did*' this or that, leaves us free to believe that the meaning may be: 'And when His friends heard it they went out to lay hold on Him; for people were saying, "He is beside Himself." Somewhat similarly Mark adds, at the end of the controversy of which we are discussing the introduction: '[This he said] because [*people*] *were saying* [*or, beginning to say*], He hath an unclean spirit.' If that is the meaning, then the friends of Jesus may have gone forth to put a friendly restraint on Him, not because they themselves believed Him to be insane, but because the charge was beginning to be widely repeated in various forms by enemies whose object it was to represent Jesus as a dangerous or law-breaking lunatic, who ought to be put to death."[1]

Even if that be the right interpretation of the incident, which is very doubtful in view of the fact that the popular judgment about Jesus was not to this effect, there is still the sequel in Mark iii. 31–35 = Matthew xii. 40–50 = Luke viii. 19, 21, which seems to involve some misjudgment on the part of His kinsfolk, or lack of understanding, like that

[1] *The Fourfold Gospel*, Section III., p. 427.

which Mark so frankly states, and it cannot but be observed that he states it side by side with the more malign misjudgment of the scribes who had come down from Jerusalem and said, "He has Beelzebub, and it is by the prince of the demons that He drives out the demons" (Mark iii. 22–30). The misjudgment of the one refers mainly to the mental, but that of the other to the darkly moral condition of their victim. The sequel relates that His mother and brethren having arrived stood outside the house where Jesus was surrounded, not now, it would appear, by the same excited crowd as at the first, but by one of eager and attentive listeners of whom were His disciples and others of their kind and kin, and "they sent to call Him." The phrase denotes that it was an urgent summons, and was passed from one to another until it reached Him. Matthew says that it was brought by one "that told Him," and that Jesus gave His answer to His informant (Matt. xii. 48). Whatever their motive was, the one that Mark alludes to or another, their message was an interruption, and intended to be an interruption right and proper to themselves, which Jesus, however, did not hastily repel, as He repelled the aspersion of the scribes, but took and turned with all His native aptitude of mind to the service of the theme with which He was engaged of the true relationship of men to God, and to His kingdom in the earth. Here, as oftentimes again, He proved Himself to be the great opportunist seizing on the occasion to unfold or amplify His thought. With a quick and searching glance around his hearers in keeping with the motion of his mind, to which Matthew adds the further touch of stretching forth His hand towards His disciples (xii. 49), He said,

> "Behold, my mother and my brethren!
> For whosoever shall do the will of God,
> the same is brother to me, and sister, and mother."

There is grace as well as truth in these creative words which has not always been observed. For it was a delicate situation which one less gracious and refined would almost certainly have spoiled. But both by gesture and by judgment all His own He bore it up into a region in which the natural bonds of home and kindred were transcended but not destroyed, and in which everything was made to rest upon the spiritual principle of the practice of the will of God. Where that obtained, there was the basis as there were the bonds of a holy family in truth, potentially as vast as the human family itself. So without a hint of censure or even of impatience towards His too obtrusive friends He simply re-affirmed His principle in relation to the family, His own and every other, making it consist of those, the old and young alike, who chose to do the Father's will and who in consequence were bound to Him by ties as dear as those of mother, sister, brother. These were His next of kin in fact and fully, who, in the words of the fourth Evangelist, "were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." It was no doubt upon the same occasion that a certain woman catching sight of Jesus' mother lifted up her voice and broke into fervent praises of her blessedness. And once again, without disclaiming aught of the truth extolled, Jesus took and changed it into a form in keeping with his master-thought.

"Yea, but blessed rather are they that hear the word of God, and keep it" (Luke xi. 27–28).

The whole incident or episode proclaims the triumph of His own creative principle and of the lofty temper it evokes. And all the while we seem to hear, or overhear, another principle as new and true, "I came not to destroy, but to fulfil."

But the interest of the incident does not end here. For it is another of those revealing moments of His public life which cast their light back upon the hidden years of growth at

Nazareth. Still waters run deep, and they ran too deep within Him for their depth to be discerned. If they were too deep even for Himself to know in those quiet years of gathering thought and power there need be little wonder if they were not known to others then or after they became the flood-tides of His great career. It is easy enough, no doubt, to pour contempt upon the blindness of His friends, as if it were a case of "worldliness criticising perfect unworldliness," "a sneer" that was nothing "but empty calumny," "family criticism, the most merciless thing in the world and sometimes the most unjust." But censure sharp and swift as this is surely just as much a missing of the point as their untimely interference. And it is conspicuous by its absence from his gracious speech and spirit. While it is not possible to lift the veil that shrouds the home at Nazareth it is possible to take the story as an index of the past in one or two respects. Thus it shows that Jesus passed His early days on much the same high plane of life as afterwards, "not striving, nor crying aloud," working as a craftsman with His folk, and so unobtrusive and at one with them at work and play that they never dreamed of any change like that which swept Him from their midst, and set Him in the gaze and praise of men. The thoughts He uttered when He began to preach must have been growing into form as He lived and wrought beside them. And yet He had never preached, and was not known by His brethren as one who had anything exceptional to say or do. Manifestly they had failed to catch up aught that lay concealed in what was now beginning to be known and come to light. A fact which surely tends to prove that Jesus had been very much at home with them from first to last, and had gone in and out as any other inmate of the house, neither so aloof, nor lonely or absorbed as to excite attention or remark. Hence, inevitably, as one may think, it burst upon them with a

"shock" of more than "mild surprise" when at length He left the home and launched into a life so new and unfamiliar and intense, and when "loud Rumour" noised it in their ears that the crowds were pressing to His side and were hanging on His lips. To account for their behaviour on the present occasion, it seems needful to suppose that their knowledge of Jesus, taught and tried though it was through all that length of years in Nazareth, had nothing in it of a kind to lead them to expect or to accept what had now been forced within their ken. And that was due as much, perhaps, to His simple, sane, and unself-conscious mode of life in their midst as to their own familiarity—the old-time habit of considering one of themselves as like themselves, and to their all too obvious lack of the "seeing eye." *Vile habetur quod domi est*, says Seneca; and Paul says, "the spiritual man sees all things as they are; what he himself is none can see who has not the spiritual eye" (1 Cor. ii. 15).

If this is on the lines of a fair interpretation of the incident then it affords another striking glimpse of the family-life at Nazareth, and in especial of the life of Jesus growing quietly from day to day, "He knoweth not how"—if we may use a phrase of His about the seed springing up and growing (Mark iv. 27)—and under conditions common to His kindred and Himself. That He continued to be subject to His parents (ὑποτασσόμενος, Luke ii. 51) can only mean that He fell in fully with the life and practice of the home. And, therefore, that He made no claim to any sort of privilege peculiar to Himself, nor stood upon any vantage-ground confronting others. The picture that rises up before the mind is rather that of one who was as much at home within the home as any one, sharing in its daily toil and interest and learning all the while the truths that are as true of heaven as home,

"Pure religion breathing household laws."

And if the home with all its "chance o' the prize of learning

love" was the training-school of Jesus for the length of years He lived at Nazareth, it is not difficult to see that it must have been the first great trial of His life to have to give it up, and all the more that His kinsfolk, one and all, could neither apprehend nor countenance His choice. The trial would be in proportion to the love that He had learned. There is witness borne by His own lips that it was a trial that pierced His soul (Luke xiv. 25). All the love that He had learned by loving and being loved would be present in the pain of parting, and make it poignant in a sense that only love like His could understand. As to how the crisis of the parting touched His brethren, there is the informing incident before us, and their critical remark in which they were all agreed. It was a superficial, painfully external view to take of Him, but perhaps not so surprising when we think of the enormous difference between the life which He had lived among them, and the life which He had now begun to live among the surging crowds. Let us have some patience with these dazed and undiscerning "friends." To simple country folk like them, pursuing the even tenor of their way, there could scarcely fail to be much that was foolish, frenzied, and fantastic in His crowded life, and in his love blazing out in rare and unaccustomed deeds they would see or hear tell of something that surpassed their commonplace belief.

There is no set means of judging as to whether He encountered opposition so long as he was one of them going quietly about His business in the home. That He did encounter opposition there we may take for certain. And, further, that the opposition or temptation would assail Him at His highest point or potency of life, His love. Obviously it is not in keeping with the law of growth to which He was subject no less than to His parents to suppose that temptation burst upon Him at the moment He was driven from the waters to the wilderness of Jordan. The crisis in the wilderness was

as much the conclusion of a stage as the beginning of a stage. Something had already been attempted and achieved to account for both the call and the constraint of new advance. To be tempted in all points as other men are implies that Jesus trod the common thoroughfare of struggle, loss and gain. And He cannot have begun to tread it in the wilderness, for that was more a lonely furrow than a beaten track. It is easier, perhaps, to imagine than to describe the phase of conflict through which He passed among His kin before He proved Himself, and was prepared to take the final step of withdrawing from their midst. Allusion has already been made to what it cost Him inwardly to grapple to His choice, and take the yoke of harder tasks and trials. As to the temptation He was likely to have met within the home by which he advanced in wisdom and in character, and the consciousness of destiny without the home, it may be permitted to refer to one or two events belonging to His public life recorded by the fourth Evangelist alone, and which may be used like other similar events for the light which they may chance to shed upon the obscurity of Nazareth.

They are all of them events in which Jesus is exposed to temptation springing from the impulse or the action of His friends. And in each He is seen to master the temptation by virtue of a choice proceeding from a plane of motive on which He stands alone. The first is the intervention of His mother at the marriage feast in Cana (John ii. 1–11). Leaving aside the question as to whether the tale is due to the transformation of what was originally a figure of speech into a fact of history, like the story of the "cursing" of the fig-tree which may have passed in the process of tradition from a parable (cf. Luke xiii. 6–9 ; xvi. 6 ; Mark xi. 23) into a portent, may we not assume with Abbott, for the reason which he states, "the Fourth Gospel, in spite of its poetic nature, is closer to history than I had supposed," that there is more than

"an appearance of historicity" in this account and that it describes an actual occasion on which Jesus and His mother met—met and parted as before? It must be remembered, in justice to the fourth Evangelist, that whilst he is intent upon the spiritual meaning of the facts he is scarcely less intent upon the facts themselves. Indeed fact and idea, the eternal and the temporal, dwell together in his mind as deeply interfused as in the master-principle which permeates his gospel, that "the Word became flesh and dwelt among us." That is the principle which he finds in all the facts and which makes them "signs." If then the event before us, no more than any other in his record, may not be sublimed away into an idea but has something in it which served to make of it a "sign," may we not regard it as belonging to the selfsame order of events as the visit of His mother and His brethren in Mark iii., which Jesus used, as we have seen, to illustrate and amplify His thought? Who but Jesus could have found in any happening so simple the suggestion of a doctrine so profound? And may He not have used this Cana-episode and the comment of His mother in a similar way to exhibit and adorn another doctrine equally profound, of the new and higher era of the Gospel which in relation to the past is as the wine of marriage-joy to the water of the Law? (cf. Mark ii. 18–20; Mark i. 7–8; John iii. 28–30).

But the point for us here, assuming that the story rests on fact, is to observe how Jesus met the intrusion of his mother. When she took it upon her to say to Him, "They have no wine," it was the tacit appeal of one who, in the days of His devotion by her side, had been wont to look to Him and to His aid in time of need. In this light it would seem to afford a glimpse of the mutual accord in which the twain had wrought together amid the cares and fortunes of the home. She had tasted and come to trust in His uncommon though unvaunted powers, and now that there was need

once more, it was but her old affection and dependence that prompted her request. And as such it became a temptation touching Him in a sensitive and sacred passion of His heart.

> "Most dangerous
> Is that temptation that doth goad us on
> To sin in loving virtue."

However Jesus may have faced and fought a like temptation in the home He was now no longer subject to its rule and could not therefore suffer her appeal to regulate His choice. He was under authority to a higher will and could only act in answer to its call. "The son can do nothing of himself but what he seeth the Father do" (v. 19). Hence if He could not choose but waive aside her plea once more, it was not because He was insensitive to human need or negligent of human love, but because He was wholly captive to an alliance which out-went all other pleas, and wherein they were none of them destroyed but all fulfilled. "Woman, what hast thou to do with me? mine hour has not yet come," is simply the gracious refusal of a voice which but for the other voice resounding in His soul he had scarce been able to renounce. The hour of its appointing was the hour of His consent. Its fiat was His faith.

The same idea comes to light in the next event recorded by St. John alone in chap. vii. 1–14, in which His brethren—and by these are usually meant the members of His family as in Mark—taunt Him with staying where He was, in a corner, so to speak, and with not advancing boldly to the front where he could both be seen and known. Once again, without attempting to discuss the various questions which the narrative contains, may we not accept it as another instance of the kind of testing which Jesus had to face in contact with His brethren? The situation is not unlike the one before (Mark iii. 20–21) and is a further proof of the fact

that His kindred were not kindred in the deeper sense of His appeal; "for even his brethren did not believe in him" (vii. 5). The point for us to note is simply this that, when Jesus replied "My time is not yet come," He took up the same position to His brethren as He had taken to His mother, (ii. 4) refusing their injunction on the ground that in the duties of His calling He could not suffer it or any other motive of the sort to rule Him, but must needs await the motive and the moment wafted from above.

And one need only glance at the third of the three events related by St. John (xi. 1–16) to observe that Jesus, when He is again confronted with the claims of earthly love, does not then and there comply with them, however intimate and strong, but refrains from action as before, until the "wonted signal" is bestowed. "Behold he whom thou lovest is sick." "So when he heard that he was sick, he abode at that time two days in the place where he was." "Then after this he saith to his disciples, Let us go back to Judaea." Abbott points out that the conjunction *οὖν* is four times used (*vv.* 6, 17, 33, 38), and says that "this repetition of 'therefore' may be intended to show how the Son, step by step, moved forward in a regular and predetermined sequence to do the Father's will." The suggestion of a sequence answers to the facts if it is meant that it was gradually disclosed to Him, "a little here, a little there," in accordance with His wont of walking in the light. The picture does not strike us as the picture of a superhuman Logos-Christ who knows the end from the beginning, and Himself ordains the stages of the course that leads to it, but rather as that of one who humbly bides his time, and listens for the breathing of the voice that bids him go. There is nothing more habitual to the human at its best than this attitude of listening for authentic tidings of the things of God. The supreme musicians, painters, poets have all been listeners

first before they ventured to become the spokesmen of the Spirit.

> "I have seen
> A curious child who dwelt upon a tract
> Of inland ground, applying to his ear
> The convolutions of a smooth-lipped shell;
> To which, in silence hushed, his very soul
> Listened intensely; and his countenance soon
> Brightened with joy; for from within were heard
> Murmurings, whereby the monitor expressed
> Mysterious union with its native sea.
> Even such a shell the universe itself
> Is to the ear of Faith; and there are times,
> I doubt not, when to you it doth impart
> Authentic tidings of invisible things."

No one among the poets has given such rich expression to this truth as Wordsworth in these and other lines, but the same may be detected in the works of Rembrandt and Beethoven, in a certain gaze or gesture, often, in the figures of the one, and in wistful strains of rapture in the music of the other. And may it not be said that in the portrait which he gives of Jesus here the fourth Evangelist has lit upon something very much akin, and pourtrays Jesus in most human guise as now pausing on His way, and now proceeding, in response as ever to the guidance of the "Silent Voice" which rose above the surge of His affection for His friends, and led Him to the next inevitable step, the step of faith and fellowship divine. It is all the more impressive when we find in the sequel that Jesus, "*when he 'saw' those whom he loved 'weeping' for the death of one whom they, and he too, had 'loved,'* did not disdain to be '*troubled*' along with them. He, too, '*wept.*' He did not confine Himself to sympathetic '*talk.*' He '*troubled Himself.*' That is, He welcomed trouble and gave it harbourage in His heart, so that it was veritably '*in Himself.*'"[1] (xi. 33–35.)

Taking, then, those three events which we owe to the

[1] Abbott, *The Fourfold Gospel*, Introduction, p. 155.

historic and artistic genius of the writer, may we not apply them to the past of Jesus' life, and find some help at least in picturing to ourselves the manner of temptation which beset Him at the first? He would be tried or tempted most of all, as we may infer, in the working of His natural affections. With a nature such as his, so charged with life in its abundance, temptation itself would rise to its very pitch of power and subtle charm. It would be no mild or tame affair as easily faced, as easily foiled.

> "I am that way going to temptation
> Where prayers cross,"

says Angelo in "Measure for Measure" giving voice to the familiar fact that temptation is always most deceptive when it comes arrayed in love and sanctity to trap the soul. "And no wonder," says Paul; "for even Satan fashioneth himself into an angel of light" (2 Cor. xi. 14). When Jesus quotes from Micah (vii. 6) to the effect that "a man's enemies shall be they of his own household" or "those who are his own" (Matt. x. 36) and recalls another scripture bearing on the same in John xiii. 18, may we not infer that something of what occurred betimes between Him and His brethren was not unknown in the long unfolding years at Nazareth? It would not be only in the open places of His ministry that temptation would assail Him on their lips and in their influence. Indeed we may venture the remark that it was only by the trial and the testing of His strong affections in their daily intercourse that He could ever have begun to recognise and bow before that affection *in excelsis* which gradually absorbed His life.

For a sane and truthful view of Jesus consistent with the working of the law of growth one must needs allow to the full for the factor of temptation operating in a way that answered to the depth and power of His nature. It is idle to imagine that He lit upon some novel means of attaining

character other than that of the common human lot. Miracle cannot evade morality. When He taught His disciples to pray the prayer so fraught with soul "bring us not into temptation" (εἰς πειρασμόν), and warned them in an hour of crisis for Himself and them, "watch and pray that you may not come into temptation" (εἰς πειρασμόν), adding, "with a learned spirit of human dealings," that "the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak," He was speaking of a reality in their life no less than in His own. Temptation did not mean one thing to Him and another thing to them: "Ye are they that have faithfully remained with me in my temptations (ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς μου)." The moral life is one and indivisible, "woven from the top throughout" of law and choice, and loss or gain of soul. "For whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap" (Gal. vi. 7, 8). And this, surely, was as true for Jesus as for the rest of men. If there was any difference betwixt His life and theirs it would not be in less temptation but in more, temptation subtler and more sifting, and issuing by virtue of the love and duty which prevailed in the uttermost of purity and power. The higher a man is the more he is tried, the purer the more he is proved, the more spiritual the more he is sifted like wheat, as Jesus said (Luke xxii. 31–32). Every stage of the moral life attained becomes another stage or stretch of temptation. It is from his heights man falls or rises still to heights beyond. If this is true of the moral life in general, then the fact that "Jesus was led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted," or, as Mark has it, "the Spirit driveth him forth," must surely mean that He had passed already through a long curriculum before He was ready for the access of temptation at the opening of His ministry. The fiery trial then and there was both the evidence of growth and the pledge of more. It was no less the prize of struggle than the prelude of the same. Far from being a strange or sudden storm

that struck Him unawares, it was one that found Him girt in body and in soul, and all-equipped to hold and more than hold His ground. "In His patience," or rather, His hopeful endurance (Luke xxi. 19) "He had won His life"—up till now.

When we try to think of the ground so lofty and alone to which Jesus was "led up," we are bound to think of it as ground the ascent of which He had gained in many a sharp encounter as He pressed upon His way. In this connexion there is light as usual falling on the past as on the present in the stirring words, "but no one can enter into the house of the strong man, and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong man; and then he will spoil his house" (Mark iii. 27; Matt. xii. 29; cf. Luke xi. 21–22). Since words like these may well belong to memory as much as to the moment, they tell of conflict waged and waged again between no mere seeming or unequal foes, but one whom even He admitted to be strong and a stronger such as He had proved Himself and would prove Himself again. And one must think of conflict real as this intently and triumphantly endured to account for that to which He was driven "straightway" (Mark i. 12), and in which greater issues even than before were now involved.

> "Spirits are not finely touch'd
> But to fine issues."

Here one may beg leave to suggest that the words of Jesus, those that have just been quoted, and most if not all of His words, in their purity of outline, their dignity of form, their grace, their depth upon depth of thought, are as signally the work of memory as of inspiration, and in this respect are far more akin than is usually observed to the creative works of art. An illustration or two may perhaps suffice. Thus it has been truly said that "it was the belief, almost the discovery, of Wordsworth, that the memory, if it be habitu-

ally consulted, will not only supply a poet with his most valuable materials, but will also do for him the best part of his work."[1] This is only a way of saying what the poet himself so finely said in the "Preface to Lyrical Ballads": "poetry takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquillity; the emotion is contemplated till, by a species of reaction, the tranquillity gradually disappears, and an emotion, kindred to that which was before the subject of contemplation, is gradually produced, and does itself actually exist in the mind." It is needless to quote from the longer poems like the "Prelude" which has been called "one long exercise of memory," or from the more wonderful shorter poems to show that alike in form and content they tally with this rare description of their origin. One should only add that in Wordsworth memory wrought as it did, and brought out of its treasures things new and old, because it was fed habitually by the reverent watching both of Nature and the life of man.

> "Nor less I deem that there are Powers
> Which of themselves our minds impress;
> That we can feed this mind of ours
> In a wise passiveness,"

which is "no mere state of listless lethargy," but "the mystical consummation of the intense activity" of the heart that watches and receives.

But however profoundly Wordsworth may have voiced this truth in prose and rhyme it would be a mistake to suggest that it was his discovery, or "almost" his discovery. For it is told of the painter François Millet that "all the scenes that he desired to reproduce were fixed in his memory with marvellous exactness." He attached the same importance as the poet did to the exercise of memory. He said that his own was naturally refractory, but that he had suc-

[1] *Wordsworth.* By Walter Raleigh, p. 25.

ceeded in training it, and that a memory-picture of this sort is more faithful as to the general impression than one made from nature."[1] "From this cause," as it has been rightly said, "comes the simplification of his landscapes and figures, the mind having retained only the leading features and eliminated those accessory details which do not immediately depend upon the impression as a whole." And it might be shown from a wider survey of the realm of art that not only does memory everywhere command this central place, but it wields this vital power, shaking or shearing off by a hidden process of its own all that is non-essential till nothing but the essential or the elemental remains. Whence comes the simplicity of all great art, divine simplicity which is not bareness, emptiness, or anything of the sort, but the very soul and symmetry of things?

Now if we may regard the words of Jesus as owing both their form and substance to the same creative—critical and creative—work of memory we shall not err in thinking that the conflicts, perils, passions, and achievements of His life before the Baptism are all *essentially* included in, and imprinted upon the imperishable language of His lips. May we describe it as, in a sense, the rich deposit brought down from the beginnings of His thought, His vision and adventure? More than we are wont to believe the memories of the thirty years inform the moments of the three. Hence we may take it that the remarkable saying, "for there are eunuchs . . . which made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake," while it is attuned to its own occasion (Matt. xix. 10–12),[2] is at the same time a finished product of emotion recollected in tranquillity. As such it points to another phase of the temptation which pursued our Lord, as we have seen, and pressed upon Him at His highest pitch

[1] *Millet.* By Romain Rolland, pp. 133–4.

[2] Cf. *St. Matthew.* A. H. McNeile, p. 275.

or power of life, His love. One so radiantly endowed as He with the sense of Nature, and the sense of life in child and man, and with

"great eyes deep with ruth"

must needs have looked and looked again upon the mystery of what God hath made to be joined together. Art, indeed, had already approached the mystery, and here and there had left an image of the beauty which it sensed and saw therein. But, surely, Jesus was the first to behold woman with the same unspotted purity of heart with which He beheld God Himself, God's image engraven to a finish in her grace of form and soul. His at all events is the vision blending with that of art, and fulfilling it, that has changed the destiny of woman, and set her once for all in her own appointed and anointed place. But for reasons deeper than we see, it was not given to Jesus to be joined to another after the manner of the age-long ordinance. Just as in the course of His development it was borne in upon Him finally that He must leave the home in answer to the heavenly vision, so it was required of Him for the sake of the kingdom of heaven to live outwith the dearest bonds of human life. It would be a temptation to Him like everything else that came to Him along the avenues of love; another instance of the temptation of the better as against the best. To choose the lonely path once more must have tried His soul no less than to choose the path in which He had not where to lay His head. Since it is not given to every one to make room (*χωρεῖν*, Matt. xix. 11, 12) in his life for the choice which Jesus made, the fact that it was given to Him implies that it was only at the call and with the aid of the Divine that He was able to make room for it Himself. It implies, too, does it not? that it was another of the "trials" which Jesus had to meet and master as before by watching and by prayer.

From all of this it follows that it was in no sense as one untempted or untaught that Jesus at length was led up of

the Spirit into the wilderness, there to discover not only what was hidden in the vision for Himself and for mankind, but also what was hidden in the course of life which He had now fulfilled, and which had made the vision possible at all. For the vision at the Jordan was the summing up, as it were, of his whole past life of discipline and growth amid the quieter but no less vital labours and achievements of His youth. To all our various questionings about the silent unrecounted years at Nazareth the "vision splendid" is the one and only answer, but such an answer as fills their silence with unearthly voices, and their dim seclusion with the gleams and flashes of His mighty destiny. We must interpret all that went before in the light of His momentous calling and career. Such a full corn in the ear, if we might apply His language here, presupposes first a blade, and then an ear of equal quality. If greater issues than before were now at stake, that only proves that issues great alike had already been at stake, and had been decided in such a way as to admit of them appearing on the scene. He had sowed to the Spirit, and of the Spirit had reaped the life which was now revealed in Him, and was now to be accomplished through His ministry.

That He was ready to accept His long-predestined post with its vast ideals and demands shows that He had climbed the steep ascent, and had won it by right—the right divine—of character. For, as the apostle puts it in a fine sequence, "trial develops endurance, endurance develops character, and character develops hope, and hope does not disappoint, since the love of God is poured out of His heart into our hearts through the holy Spirit which has been given to us" (Rom. v. 3). Of this character and hope, a living and resplendent growth, came the vision as the precious fruit of the same—the flooding of His soul with the love of God through the gift of the Spirit. All the while He had pressed on to the goal for this prize.

> "Let a man contend to the uttermost
> For his life's set prize, be it what it will."

Even although His life's set prize prior to His baptism was hidden from His sight, yet there was that in the sight of His soul which drove Him to contend to the uttermost, whatever the prize might be. Thus He had striven with the strong affections of the home, and had only mastered them to become the servant of the affection which had mastered Him and made Him free. Thus, too, being very man of very man, he had wrestled with the instincts of His nature and was fit to spring unfettered to his task with every power and passion thrilling to the voice of heaven.

> "Thou art my heaven, and I thy eremite."

No circumstance or conflict or denial in His long probation but had prepared Him for, and proved Him worthy of the prize of God's high call.

> "For all the past, read true, is prophecy,
> And all the firsts are hauntings of some Last,
> And all the springs are flash-lights of one Spring."

Two great truths, as one may gather from the vision (and the voice) had gradually emerged in Jesus' mind, and begun to shine upon His destined way. That they together were the master-lights which made His vision what it was means that they had long since dawned upon Him as He lived and learned and "struggled to effect His warfare." The one was that God is Father, the other that He is son, and the twain advanced in strength and clearness side by side. For they are but different aspects of a single truth that was spirit and life to Him. And in that truth lies the unity—and the uniqueness—of His person.

The terms Father, son, are no doubt "characteristically Jewish doctrine," but it is idle to suppose that there was nothing but Jewish doctrine in the profound and piercing mind of Him who grew in wisdom, and who saw the heavens

rent asunder and heard a voice exclaiming from the depths, "Thou art my son, the beloved, in thee I have found pleasure" (Mark i. 11, where εὐδόκησα may suggest the process by which God came to find such pleasure in Him).[1] The underlying thought of these "Notes" is that a climax great as this was the outcome of a long development in which the twofold truth had slowly ripened to the point of bursting into flower or into fire within His soul. The question that concerns us, therefore, is not the comparatively slight and easy question of characteristic Jewish doctrine, but a question great as that of the dynamic sense of Father-son, which was a new creation, and the greatest contribution ever made to the life and thought of men. If that is not history and experience both, then Christianity is a dream. It lies with us now to suggest some notes upon this dynamic sense of Father-son, first in relation to the distinctive mission of the Baptist, and second in relation to Jesus' own creative mission on the earth.

James Robertson Cameron.

PHILLIPS BROOKS.

Great preachers are forgotten quickly, yet not so quickly as their preaching. While their names are still familiar, the sale of their published sermons has ceased. We may regret the fact, yet it need not surprise us. A book of sermons makes its chief appeal to the readers in whom it stirs memories, for whom it recalls not merely the things said, but the voice and personality of the man who said them. After a generation has passed, that appeal is lost. In proportion, too, as a preacher succeeded in gaining a wide acceptance for his special message, that message lacks the charm of freshness when it is read in after years. For

[1] *The Earliest Gospel*. Menzies, pp. 61–62.

example, friends have often borrowed F. W. Robertson's sermons and have brought them back to me with a frank expression of disappointment. "Interesting enough," they have said; "but we expected something far more remarkable. There seems nothing in them to account for the stir they created." They forget that the paradoxes of one age become the commonplaces of the next, that views now accepted by virtually every school of Christian thought were deemed startling and heterodox at the time when Robertson championed them.

The influence of Robertson can be discerned in the work of Phillips Brooks. But Brooks belongs to a later period; he was still at college in 1853, when Robertson's short life reached its end, and his own ministry did not close until 1893. He was incomparably the greatest preacher whom the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States has yet produced. He was revered by all denominations. He influenced the whole religious thought of his own country. No American preacher was more widely honoured or heard more eagerly when he visited England. On this, as on the other side of the Atlantic, his published sermons had through many years a very wide sale. Like Robertson's, their appeal reached far beyond ecclesiastical circles. A large public, which commonly is indifferent to sermon literature, did care, and cared immensely, for the sermons of Phillips Brooks. But now, thirty years after his death, that vogue seems to have reached its end. Doubtless thousands of us who are old or elderly yet cherish those volumes, account them of all sermons the most helpful, return to them year after year with an undiminished gratitude. But to the most of the younger folk—even to preachers of the younger generation—Phillips Brooks can be to-day little more than a name. This is no mere surmise, for Messrs. Macmillan, the publishers in this country of Brooks' sermons,

tell me that their sale has shrunk to perhaps a dozen copies in a year.

If in some sense inevitable, none the less this is a fact to be regretted. Our modern standard of preaching would be bettered if the younger men of to-day would familiarise themselves with the work of great preachers in the past, and, for direct instruction, nothing more profitable than Brooks' *Lectures on Preaching* was ever penned. Again, the sermons have a real historic interest. They present, in its best and noblest form, a view of churchmanship which greatly influenced Christianity in the United States, but—despite some points of affinity with the teaching of Maurice, Robertson and Stanley—has never had an exact counterpart in England. Beyond any other reason, however, Phillips Brooks' sermons deserve to be remembered and read to-day for their immediate and undiminished spiritual message. All the ten volumes of them (besides the Yale *Lectures on Preaching*, the Bohlen *Lectures on the Influence of Jesus*, the *Essays and Addresses* and three minor works) are on my shelves, and I have read the greater part of them yet once more within the last few weeks. And it is amazing to find how "up-to-date" they are, how the genius of Phillips Brooks, "prophetic" in both the proper and the popular meaning of that word, led him to emphasise the truths a perception of which is specially needful to-day.

There is a strange contrast in this respect between his published sermons and those of his great Anglican contemporary, Dr. Liddon. An attempt to decide which was the "greater" of the two preachers would be futile; for obvious reasons, this must remain a matter of opinion. But what is not, I think, a matter of opinion is that the lapse of time has affected Liddon's sermons as it has not affected Brooks'. In the two hundred sermons by the American divine the reader will find very few that—sometimes with the recasting

of three or four phrases and often with no alteration at all —could not be addressed now to an educated congregation. I think there is scarcely one of Liddon's sermons of which this could be said. Despite all their fervour, logical force, and spiritual insight, their argument is apt to be linked inseparably with views which the developments of science and of Biblical study have made untenable. This contrast is only made for the sake of any one who, being recommended to read Phillips Brooks, may suppose that he is recommended to read sermons which, however valuable in their own days, can be of little practical usefulness in these. He will know better when he has made the experiment. He will be impressed and stirred by the intrinsic greatness of these sermons, by their breadth of conception, their overflowing vitality, their wise persuasiveness. But he will be amazed when he recollects that they were written forty or fifty years ago, so modern do they seem, alike in their idiom and their thought.

Readers of the EXPOSITOR who already know their Phillips Brooks will not disdain, I hope, a tribute, however brief or ineffective, to his work and memory. But it is chiefly in the hope that readers of the younger generation may be led to study him that I propose to say something of the man and his sermons. The two, indeed, are largely one. No preaching has been more directly the expression of the preacher's personality; a Phillips Brooks sermon is just a bit of Phillips Brooks himself.

II.

The Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks, by Professor A. V. G. Allen, of Cambridge, U.S.A., was published in 1900. It is a very admirable and very full biography—a trifle too full, perhaps, for the general reader. Its two volumes contain respectively 600 and 900 pages—a strange

division—and the early chapters are taken up with a detailed account of Brooks' ancestors, and then of his own youthful days. Not before page 330 do we reach the beginning of Brooks' ministry, at the age of twenty-three. And it is at this point that the prudent reader, taking up the biography for the first time, will begin. Afterwards he can return to the first ten chapters. By this time he will wish that the volumes were yet longer, will feel that he could never be told too much of so fine a life, of so splendid a character as Phillips Brooks'. An editor sent me these two volumes for review when first they were published, and I have read the whole of them at least once a year ever since.

Phillips Brooks, the second of six sons, was born in Boston on December 13, 1835. His father, a successful merchant, was, like the majority of the educated classes in Boston, a Unitarian. His mother (whose maiden name was Phillips) came of a New England Puritan family, and was a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, her sympathies being with what we should describe nowadays as its extreme Evangelical party. For the first six years of married life she attended a Unitarian place of worship with her husband; then she persuaded him to accompany her to an Episcopal church, and, eight years later, he was confirmed. The relations between Phillips Brooks and his parents were always of the most tender and devoted character, but it was to his mother that he owed his early religious training. And not for a moment was the reciprocal affection weakened, though the change brought perplexity to the mother when the son's Evangelical inheritance was modified and developed into broader views. Among the most beautiful of Brooks' sermons is one entitled *The Mother's Wonder*, on the words of our Lord: "Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us?" In this country it was preached by him in Westminster Abbey. Though there

is no word in it of direct reference to his own experiences —he was the least egotistic of preachers—it is easy, now that we know Phillips Brooks' family history, to see that the trial of which he speaks had befallen himself, "the scene which, recurring in every household as a boy claims his own life, is constantly repeating the experience of the household of Nazareth." But the religious influence of Phillips Brooks' mother, though greatly modified, was never without its effect upon her son. It was rarely evident in his preaching, but found its expression in the more intimate relationships of pastoral work. Towards the close of his life, for example, those who rightly held him to be the leader of Broad Churchmanship were often perturbed by the stress he laid, when dealing with Confirmation candates, upon conversion. Beyond doubt, the explanation lay in his early upbringing, and, particularly, in the teaching of his mother and her spiritual guide, Dr. Alexander Vinton.

The story of Phillips Brooks' boyhood was uneventful, and must not even be summarised here. He did well at Harvard, but made little impression upon most of his fellow-students, being very shy and reserved. Doubtless this tendency was increased by the fact that he mixed little with others, taking no part in athletics, and spending much of his spare time—and every week-end—at home with his parents. After leaving college, he had a brief and unsuccessful career as a schoolmaster. Being himself but twenty, he was put in charge of a class of thirty-five riotous youths whose average age was seventeen, and his resignation soon followed. Then, after a time of indecision, he decided to seek ordination, and spent two years in study at the Alexandria Theological Seminary, Virginia. It is evident that the official curriculum here was of little profit to him. But already he had formed the habits of a student, and he read an immense number of books in these two

years—of history, theology, philosophy, and poetry. Already he was a fair classical scholar. Thus early, too, he had formed the " notebook habit," to which he adhered through the rest of his life. He must have filled a prodigious number of MS. books with thoughts, comments on literature, themes for sermons, metaphors and illustrations, terse statements of Christian principles. Many extracts from them are quoted in the *Life*, and they are wonderfully vivid and suggestive. A volume wholly composed of chosen pages from Phillips Brooks' notebooks would be a real treasure.

The senior students of the Alexandria Seminary were sent, by way of practice, to address village mission-services. Among those who listened one day to an address of this kind from Phillips Brooks were two vestrymen from the Church of the Advent, Philadelphia. They were looking for a new rector, and at once were convinced that this young man, not yet ordained, would suit their needs. And so, without any training as an assistant, Phillips Brooks, at the age of twenty-three and within a few days of his ordination, took charge of a city church. At first, however, he was engaged on probation, for three months only. The beginning was not wholly auspicious. Oppressed by a sense of failure, he remarked to a vestryman one Sunday night that perhaps he had better leave at once, and only got the reply : " Well, as you have begun, you had better stay out the time for which you were hired." But this phase soon passed, and the little church was thronged by the crowds that came to hear the young preacher. Almost at once he received calls from other churches. After less than 2½ years he moved to a larger and more fashionable church in Philadelphia—Holy Trinity. Then the Civil War broke out, and had an immense influence on the development of Phillips Brooks. It turned him from speculative thought to practical issues. It enlarged his

reputation from that of a great preacher to that of a great citizen and leader. Despite some obloquy and much suspicion, he championed the Abolitionist cause with whole-hearted enthusiasm.

After seven more years at Philadelphia, Brooks began that which was to be the great work of his life. Having refused more than once, he consented at last to become the Rector of Trinity Church, Boston. He held that post from 1869 to 1891. In 1872 the old church was destroyed in a fire which devastated a large part of Boston ; the new Trinity Church which replaced it was designed to a great extent by Brooks himself, and at the time of its completion was thought the finest ecclesiastical building in the United States. Artistic tastes have changed in forty years, and to-day this church seems an architectural outrage. However, it fulfilled well its first purpose ; it enabled an enormous congregation to hear Phillips Brooks preach. And in its pulpit he reigned supreme. Merchant-princes and scholars, young folk and old, ministers and members of all denominations were stirred and helped by his sermons as they were by none else. Visitors from other lands would as soon fail to see Niagara as they would return without having heard Phillips Brooks preach. Occasionally he himself crossed the sea for a long holiday ; he visited England, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Palestine, India and Japan. Here in England he saw almost everyone of note, and counted among his special friends Tennyson and Dean Stanley. He preached before the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge—Oxford gave him an honorary degree and invited him to become a Bampton Lecturer—in St. Paul's, the Abbey, before Queen Victoria at Windsor, and in many cathedrals and parish churches. His sermons were appreciated as highly in this as in his own land.

Throughout his Boston ministry Brooks was constantly

urged to permit himself to be nominated for a vacant bishopric, and constantly refused. The one call which he only declined after real hesitation was to a theological Professorship at Harvard. At length, when in 1891 the bishopric of Massachusetts had to be filled, Phillips Brooks was elected to that office by the Diocesan Convention. In order, however, to make the election effective, it had to be confirmed by the standing committees of the other dioceses and finally by a vote of the bishops. Through ten anxious weeks—though far less anxious to Brooks than to a great public which felt the credit of the American Church to be at stake—this decision was doubtful. Not one voice was raised against the election on personal grounds, but there was opposition based on doubts of Brooks' "orthodoxy." The issue was taken up warmly by the newspapers. It became one of the burning questions of the day. Brooks himself kept resolutely silent, leaving the wildest statements unrefuted, and content to be judged by his published lectures and sermons. In the upshot, his opponents were beaten decisively, and on October 14, 1891, in his own church of Trinity, Boston, Phillips Brooks was consecrated Bishop of Massachusetts. He was fifty-five years of age. He threw himself into his new duties with tremendous energy, and at the sacrifice of his health. On January 17, 1893, he preached his last sermon. The next day he was suffering from what the doctor supposed to be a slight illness. A week later he was dead.

Brooks had never married. But his life had its romance, of which his biographer said nothing. During his Philadelphia days he lost his heart to a lady of great charm and intellectual force, the sister of a well-known writer and physician. Already she was a confirmed invalid, in a state of health which made any idea of marriage impossible. After his removal to Boston and until her death Brooks

wrote her a letter each week. But no man was ever more dependent on human companionship than Brooks, and his biographer is right in lamenting his celibacy. He had, it is true, a large circle of staunch friends, yet even the closest of them could never feel that he had been admitted into complete intimacy. Brooks had magnetic charm and the sunniest of temperaments. Like Bishop Fraser of Manchester, he seemed to brighten a room as he entered it. He loved friendly talk, and he would pass without an effort from gay trifling to the most serious themes. Yet even then his friends were conscious of his deep and sensitive reserve, of the dexterous way in which he kept from their eyes his inner life. Only in the pulpit, where it could be clothed in phrases so impersonal that the real source would not be discerned, was the secret of Phillips Brooks' own spiritual life revealed.

III.

In saying this, I have already gone some way to answering the questions: What was the secret of Phillips Brooks' success as a preacher? What gave his sermons—and gives them, even in their printed form—their immense power? This, above all, that they are the voice of a great soul speaking to souls. They are not theological or religious essays tinged by the personality of the speaker. They are simply the most direct expression of that personality itself, a personality afire with the love of God, the love of truth, and the love of man.

And the effectiveness of the sermons is increased by their method. Each is the exposition of some one definite idea. The reader is never left doubtful as to the subject. Some years ago a bishop who was to preach in my church asked if the day of his visit marked any special anniversary, or if I desired him to advocate the claims of some particular

work. When I told him that he was wholly free to choose his own theme, "I was glad to get your note," he wrote; "I always enjoy a chance of preaching about nothing in particular." Well, one knew what he meant, and sympathised with the feeling. But his phrase lingered in the memory as an unintentionally apt description of too much of our modern preaching. No one could apply it to Phillips Brooks. Never did he preach "about nothing in particular." Always there is the one definite, clear-cut idea, to the setting forth of which, in various aspects, the whole sermon is given. And he does not lead up to it gradually—which has been the method of some fine preachers—making it the climax after much exposition and discussion. Brooks' method is the reverse of this. At the very beginning the idea or principle is shown to be latent in the text, and is set forward boldly and comprehensively. Thus the congregation is left in no doubt as to what the theme of the sermon is to be. Then the preacher takes his principle, and applies it to various departments of life, showing, with a wealth of felicitous illustration, how completely it holds good in each case. In doing this he appeals to the experience of his hearers, drawing out their silent assent, making them feel that this is a real principle, that it is one which, without suspecting it, they have verified in their own lives. Thus they cannot demur to the next step asked of them, which is to shape their conduct in accordance with this principle, the pervading existence of which has been demonstrated, and the truth of which they can no longer doubt. And then, with a brief recapitulation, a direct personal appeal, and perhaps one abrupt sentence of prayer, the sermon ends. There is no peroration, no sensationalism, no striving for oratorical effect. For the aim is not to dazzle but to persuade; the appeal is not ultimately either to the emotions or the intellect, but to the will.

And with this persuasive force we must notice the hopeful message which Brooks brought to his hearers. He never scolded. He never lost faith in the possibilities of human nature. Here, for example, are a few words from a sermon preached to working-men :

" I am struck, and I am sure you have been, by the way in which people think the basest moments of their lives the real and true moments, and are not willing to think of the grandest moments in their lives as the true ones. The noblest thing you ever did, the noblest emotion you ever felt, the deepest and tenderest and most self-sacrificing love ever in your soul, that is your true self still, through all the baser life into which you have fallen."

" He makes me feel so strong," was among the most frequent comments of those who heard him. And we may recall Principal Tulloch's tribute, in a letter to his wife :

" I have just heard the most remarkable sermon I ever heard in my life . . . I never heard preaching like it, and you know how slow I am to praise preachers. So much thought and so much life combined ; such a reach of mind and such a depth and insight of soul. I was electrified. I could have got up and shouted."

I have dwelt upon Phillips Brooks' preaching, and have left myself no space to discuss the theology that lay beneath it. That is best revealed by some of the papers published in the posthumous volume of *Essays and Addresses* ;[1] notably in the splendid defence of conscience as the ultimate source of faith, ending :

" What if it should prove that this question, whether authority or conscience is to produce faith, settled itself most conclusively by its gradually growing evident that authority by its very nature

[1] The *Essays and Addresses* volume is, unhappily, out of print and is not easily to be obtained. Of the ten volumes of sermons, the first two were not published in this country, and of the eight that were, only the last three, Messrs. Macmillan tell me, are still in stock. These are entitled *The Law of Growth*, *New Starts in Life*, and *Seeking Life* ; I recommend *The Law of Growth* as the best of them. But the finest volumes of all are entitled *The Candle of the Lord* and *Twenty Sermons* ; it is not difficult to pick up these at the second-hand booksellers. The *Lectures on Preaching* and the beautiful lectures on *The Influence of Jesus* are still in print.

cannot produce faith, because that which authority produces when it has done its perfect work is not faith, but only assent ? . . . So to say that faith henceforth must be made by authority would be to say that henceforth there can be no more faith ; that the Christian Church is dead.

"But it is not dead. It is a living Church, still receiving messages and inspirations from—nay, still rather feeling within itself—the moving Spirit of its Master, still liable to error, still able to distinguish truth from error and its Master's movements from its own self-will only by the faithful use of its own consecrated faculties, by its present conscience judging each present problem in the brightest and purest light it can command. Such is the living Church, in which our souls must live.

"Has such a Church no dangers ? Indeed, it has countless dangers, but its very dangers are alive and hopeful in comparison with the dead and hopeless dangers of a Church which, under the strong power of authority, commits itself to a half-developed, a half-recorded and a half-understood past."

The time has not yet come when we can afford to neglect one who speaks in this fashion.

Yet a controversial passage cannot be the most characteristic of this man. Let us look elsewhere for our last word. To-day we are thinking anxiously, yet hopefully, of the relations between Phillips Brooks' great land and our own. Here then is a passage upon which to close—and who could ask a nobler ? It is July 4, "Independence Day," 1880—forty-one years ago. At evensong the majestic figure of Phillips Brooks stands in the pulpit of our Westminster Abbey. And thus his sermon ends :

"It is not for me to glorify to-night the country which I love with all my heart and soul. I may not ask your praise for anything admirable which the United States has been or done. But on my country's birthday I may do something far more solemn and worthy of the hour. I may ask you for your prayer on her behalf. That on the manifold and wondrous chance which God is giving her —on her freedom (for she is free, since the old stain of slavery was washed out in blood) ; on her unconstrained religious life ; on her passion for education, and her eager search for truth ; on her jealous care for the poor man's rights and opportunities ; on her countless quiet homes where the future generations of her men are growing ; on her manufactures and her commerce ; on her wide

gates open to the east and to the west; on her strange meetings of the races out of which a new race is slowly being born,—on all these materials and machineries of manhood, on all that the life of my country must mean for humanity, I may ask you to pray that the blessing of God the Father of man, and Christ the Son of man, may rest forever.

"Because you are Englishmen and I am an American; also because here, under this high and hospitable roof of God, we are all more than Englishmen and more than Americans; because we are all men, children of God, waiting for the full coming of our Father's kingdom, I ask you for that prayer."

ANTHONY C. DEANE.

JEREMIAH'S TEMPLE ADDRESS.

WE possess notes of this great address in two forms. In chapter vii. a collector of the prophet's oracles has combined the speech with other material, part of which is at least dubiously authentic.[1] Rightly feeling how much the place where the utterance was delivered lent force to its content, he fitted it with a short introduction in verses 1 and 2. In chapter xxvi., again, an editor, who was chiefly interested in the life and experiences of Jeremiah, has included as much of the oracle as was needed in order to explain the anger of the priests, the attitude of the laymen, and the influence which the incident had on his hero's fate. Since chapter vii. gives the longer report of the actual terms of the address, it seems wiser to study more closely the earlier chapter, and to appeal to the later where it helps to make clearer the broad purpose of the oracle.

Unfortunately every means which may help a student to arrive at the *ipsissima verba* of the prophet is needed, for the address has suffered in transmission. In part this is due to

[1] It is enough to notice here that attention is confined to verses 1–15, 21–29, since an examination of the other verses would only divert a reader from the main subject of this paper. Further, those verses, even if they are Jeremiah's, belong to a wholly different period in his career.

misunderstanding of its terms by those who have preserved it: in part, however, it is the result of a watering down of the prophet's position by men who could not conceive it possible that any prophet should adopt so uncompromising an attitude. It is necessary, in all study of the book of Jeremiah, to remember that we owe its existence to, and receive it in its present form from, men who did not share his fundamental convictions about religion, but who evidently counted him a great prophet, since they took the trouble to preserve and transmit his words. Often we have not so much what he said as the way in which the priestly schools interpreted his words.

There are two general positions on which it is advisable to be as clear as possible before any attempt is made to interpret the actual text. The first is as to the primary purpose of the address at all. This seems to have been polemic against the temple and its sacrifices. Anything which Jeremiah may have added about the fate of the people was subsidiary to this main purpose. Banishment or conquest, if he spoke about it at all, was not there for itself, but merely as the means by which Yahweh was to bring about the doom pronounced against the temple and its ritual. Both reports of the address seem to take the same attitude here. The author of chapter vii. recognised this feature, since he went out of his way to note how Jeremiah said the things he did in the temple to a company which had gathered for one of the festivals. Even so an evangelist (St. Mark xiii. 1 ff.) noted how Jesus uttered certain trenchant words against the temple on one of the high days of its solemnities. The place where the prophet spoke gave peculiar significance to what he said. The editor of chapter xxvi. makes it clear that it was the priests who chiefly resented the prophet's utterance and wished to take prompt action. Had he spoken at the same time about the collapse

of the State, the lay people might not have been so willing as they showed themselves to deliver him out of the hands of their clerical leaders. And the comparison, which appears in both accounts, between the known fate of the temple at Shiloh and the impending fate of the temple at Jerusalem, has only point on this basis. The one had been the leading sanctuary when Israel first constituted itself after the conquest: the other was recognised as the commanding sanctuary when Judah was all which the nation possessed. The doom of the national place of worship was the theme of the address.

The second position which deserves preliminary notice is that the destruction which Jeremiah predicts is not contingent but absolute. It does not depend on any change in the people's temper, but is Yahweh's fixed will. Here matters are not so clear, for it is precisely in connexion with this attitude of the prophet that the accounts in both chapters have been watered down. Men in Israel were unwilling to believe, probably were honestly unable to believe, that a prophet could pronounce an oracle of irrevocable doom on their beloved temple. They retained his words, but retouched them. The process is natural, easy and well known in all history. But chapter xxvi. betrays the real situation with sufficient clearness. It is true that the editor, in the brief synopsis of the address contained in verses 4–6, represents Jeremiah as having threatened Jerusalem with the doom of Shiloh, except the people repent, and thus makes the threat contingent on the presence or absence of national repentance. But immediately after, the priests show where the real sting of the address lay through their question: "Why hast thou prophesied in the name of Yahweh saying, this house shall be like Shiloh, and this city desolate without inhabitants?" (ver. 9). It might be possible to conclude that the men, who were already

incensed at Jeremiah on other grounds and wished him out of the way, did not hesitate to give this turn to his words in order to have a handle against him. Such things have been done, when men's minds are heated. But, if this had been the case, the prophet could have pleaded that he was misrepresented and could have urged how he had said no more than the commonplace of all prophecy, viz., that the continuance of worship depends on its worth and that its worth depends on its moral influence. It was an obvious plea to put forward. Yet it is nowhere put forward either by the prophet or by his defenders. Indeed these defenders can only deliver him by appealing to the similar case of Micah. They recall how the earlier prophet had declared in the name of Yahweh, "Zion shall be plowed as a field, Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house shall become as the high places of a forest." Micah's prophecy, they urge, had been as trenchant and in particular had been as absolute as any words which had fallen from his successor. The fact of the men singling out a prophecy with this specific character proves them to have been aware of the startling significance of the words they as well as the priests had heard. Both parties show a recognition of Jeremiah's prediction being absolute in its character.

Now, if these are the two fundamental characteristics of Jeremiah's address, the recognition of them gives material aid in determining the original elements in chapter vii. Duhm has already cast suspicion on verses 5–7, on the ground that they contain no more than pious commonplace. Personally, however, I think we have no right to deny to Jeremiah or any other prophet the power, or even the duty, of uttering commonplace, so long as it is really pious.[1]

[1] What Duhm constantly reiterates about Jeremiah, what, indeed, it is one of his great merits to have made men recognise, viz., that the pro-

Besides, Duhm has not allowed for the fact, which the collector of the chapter recognised, that place and circumstances may bring new light and force to what would elsewhere have sounded very commonplace. The more serious objection to the verses lies in their understanding "this place," מקום, in the sense of the land, verses 6, 7, whereas the word is plainly used in verse 12 of the sanctuary at Shiloh, and probably also in verse 3. By so doing, the scribe who added the verses set in the forefront of Jeremiah's polemic, not the temple, but the nation. A very clever and valuable suggestion of Ehrlich in verse 3 helps to explain why and how the addition came to be made. He proposes to read there "amend your ways and your doings, that I may dwell with you in this place," [1] i.e., of course in the temple. When, however, the phrase came to be taken to mean "that I may cause you to dwell in this place," it was obvious that the people did not live in the temple, even through Yahweh's gift. "Place" could only be understood of the place where the people did live, and room was at once made for a familiar Deuteronomic exhortation as to how Judah's possession of the land depended on its loyalty to its God. But, when Jeremiah in verse 4 continued, "put no trust in lies, saying, here is the temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh," he showed clearly what place he meant. It was the sacred מקום, the divine dwelling. With the elision of verses 5–7, the connexion between verse 4 and verse 8 becomes instantly clearer and more pungent. See, ye are putting

phet was a great poet by the grace of God, makes no difference in the situation. Both Shakspere and Wordsworth, poets by the grace of God, wrote some very commonplace poetry. The leading difference between them is that Shakspere was probably well aware of the fact, and that Wordsworth would certainly have laboured to prove how excellent his most commonplace stuff was.

[1] The reading involves no change in MT, but only in the pointing: וְאֶשְׁכְּנָה אִתְּכֶם instead of וְאֶשְׁכִּנְךָ אִתָּכֶם.

trust in false and profitless talk. Will a man steal and murder, commit adultery and perjury, sacrifice to Baal and wander after strange gods, and then come and stand before Me in this house, which is My peculiar property, and say, we have been saved to do such vile deeds? Has My house[1] become a robber's den in your eyes? Lo, I too count it such, oracle of Yahweh.

Thus freed from alien accretions, the oracle gains enormously in force, because it gains in directness of aim and singleness of purpose. All Jeremiah has to say is directed against the temple and against the new sanctity it has come to hold in the people's estimation. Its sanctity has come to rank so high that it can cover deeds which show their perpetrators to have no real conception of the character of Him who is supposed to dwell there. And he gathers up what he has to say about it in his clinching sentences which need to be freed from the weak secondary phrases about "rising early and speaking," "being called by My name," etc. "Go to My holy place in Shiloh where I set My name in the beginning, and see what I did to it on account of the wickedness of My people Israel. I will do to this house in which you put your trust as I did to Shiloh."[2]

As Amos had said that in the interests of true religion the kingdom of Israel must go, so Jeremiah declares that in the interests of true religion the temple of Judah must go. Both had become a hindrance to the faith, and Yahweh has

[1] Probably so read with LXX.

[2] It is peculiarly difficult to be confident about verse 15, "I will cast you out from My presence, as I cast out your brethren, the entire seed of Ephraim." The verse may also be secondary as Erbt, e.g., makes it. Yet one may count it possible that Jeremiah, who was always interested in Northern Israel and who came of priestly stock with a special knowledge of priestly tradition, may be thinking in the phrase "seed of Ephraim," not merely of Northern Israel, but of the close connexion between Shiloh and Ephraim, Joshua's tribe. Even if the verse be retained, the casting out of Judah is subordinate to the doom on the temple and is merely the means by which that doom is to be brought about.

issued His fiat against them both. But, either at the same time or at another, Jeremiah followed up his repudiation of the temple by an equally vehement repudiation of the sacrificial system in verses 21–23. If this oracle was originally united with the other, it is easy to understand why all mention of it has been omitted in chapter xxvi. Naturally, the editor, who was chiefly interested in the life and experiences of the prophet, quoted only those parts of the address which were needed to explain his narrative. The attack on the temple was sufficient to explain the irritation of the priests, sufficient also to explain the measures which the laymen took to rescue him. To add the sentences against the sacrifices would only have loaded the incident with useless additions. It is possible, however, that the oracle about the sacrifices was not uttered at the same time, but in similar circumstances and in the same place.[1]

Now the most noteworthy point in Jeremiah's attack on the sacrificial system is that he repudiated it in principle. He does not accuse the people and the priesthood of having laid undue emphasis on the cult as contrasted with the weightier matters of the law, and so of having neglected, in their devotion to ritual, justice and the love of God. He deliberately denies the existence in Judah of any divinely ordained ceremonial laws at all. The first and natural

[1] I am unable to convince myself that more than verses 21–23 belongs to this oracle. The following verses, 24–26, are clearly secondary, since the doings of the fathers are quite out of place in this connexion; the verses are even un-Jeremianic, since the idea of the innocence of the wilderness period which Jeremiah (cf. ii. 2) shares with Hosea is here plainly contradicted.

Cornill, however, has a long note in which he ably defends the authenticity of verses 28, 29, and Erbt also includes them as the conclusion of verses 21–23. But the question is not as to the authenticity of the verses I agree in assigning them to Jeremiah. The question is as to their connexion with what precedes; and while Cornill does not deal with precisely this difficulty, the LXX. heading to verse 27 seems to prove that here was originally the beginning of a new oracle.

presupposition of such a position is that the speaker is face to face with a ceremonial system which lays claim to divine authority, and it is of course obvious that all the leading codes of the Old Testament claim to have been delivered by Yahweh to Moses, and through Moses to have reached the people. With this fundamental position Jeremiah will have nothing to do, and, when he takes the position which he does, he assumes an attitude which is different from the attitude assumed by any of the prophets who preceded him. All the prophets, it is true, were more than a little dubious about the cult and critical of its influence and interpretation. But, to recognise the novelty of Jeremiah's position on the subject, it is only necessary to contrast his saying here with the familiar saying of Amos in v. 25. The form in which the earlier prophet puts his question shows clearly that he did not expect any answer except a negative from the people whom he addressed. Whatever his views were, he evidently felt himself to be in agreement with the great mass of his hearers. He was enunciating no novel or startling views about sacrifice, but was merely seeking to press home on the attention of the people the implications in the opinions which prophet and people held in common. But Jeremiah as clearly feels himself in definite opposition to the convictions of the religious world of his time. He is flinging down before priests and worshippers in Jerusalem a far more fundamental challenge than Amos needed to present to the same body at Bethel.

What such a new position on the part of the prophet seems to imply is a new attitude on the part of his religious world to the cult. All the requirements of the ceremonial law have now come to be regarded as possessed of divine authority, and accordingly obedience to them is now being considered essential to right worship and true religion. Jeremiah offers no opinion as to the source from which the ritual was

derived, nor does he explain how in his view it came to lodge itself in the religion of his nation. He is content to declare emphatically that it formed no part of the specifically Yahwistic religion, and therefore could be disregarded by men who were loyal to the religion of their fathers. As evidently, however, he is conscious that the people of Jerusalem were being taught the opposite, for his utterance is a polemic.[1] And the polemic is having more urgency and more edge, because the prophet feels himself a protesting voice against a movement which is carrying the nation away.

It is not, however, until this condemnation of the sacrificial system in principle is set alongside the preceding absolute doom uttered against the temple that the full significance of Jeremiah's position can be recognised. Exactly as the prophet attacks the principle of a divinely ordained ceremonial law, so he rejects the principle of the peculiar sanctity of the Jerusalem temple. The two belong together in his mind and constitute a double evidence of the failure of the nation to understand the meaning of true religion; and he unhesitatingly condemns both. There are features in the earlier oracle which, if it were taken by itself and construed alone, might make it possible to construe the whole as an ordinary prophetic warning of rather more sombre character than usual against the tendency to set undue value on the cult with corresponding neglect of the common moral virtues. But the contemptuous terms in which the prophet speaks about the temple, his closing with the prediction of an absolute, not contingent doom, his conviction that Yahweh is about to cause all worship in it to become impossible, make such an explanation difficult. Yahweh is bringing the temple-worship to an end in the interests of true religion. And, when the repudiation of the

[1] Compare, from a different point of view, Hempel's verdict on the same subject in *Die Schichten des Deuteronomiums*, pp. 39 ff.

temple is set beside the repudiation of the sacrifices, and the sacrifices are declared to be no constituent part of the specifically Yahwistic religion, it becomes clearer what the prophet means. In the new attitude which the nation is taking to the temple and the cult, these two are becoming a hindrance to true religion instead of a help. In order that men may learn the simple essentials of their faith, Yahweh must and will remove what have been erected into a means of hiding His grave and simple demands. Jeremiah has been driven into a polemic, not against the misuse, but against the principle of certain accessories of religion, because the people are being taught that their religion cannot exist without them.

The church reformers of his time and the prophet have parted company. Both began with a common dislike to the bastard religion which was practised on the high-places of Judah, and both were eager to reform the worship there, or even to bring it to an end. But in the end it is not the things which men combine to dislike and pull down, it is the things which men combine to believe in and build up, which enable them to work happily and fruitfully together. We all see strange combinations of parties, and are likely to see more, so long as the bond of union is a common hatred of something which they agree to attack, for dislike, as well as adversity, makes strange bedfellows. It is after the hated thing has been pulled down, when on the cleared ground men try to build up the new thing which is to fill the vacant space, that the fundamental differences of ideal begin to reveal themselves. Then the men, who have combined for attack, often end by attacking each other.

Jeremiah and the practical reformers could agree in their belief that the worship on the high places was destroying the soul of the nation, but they profoundly differed on the question which makes the dividing line in so many religious

discussions, the question of what is essential for the grace of God. It was well that the high places should be removed, and necessary that irregular and half-heathen sacrifices should come to an end. But when, by allowing worship at only one shrine, and confining sacrifice to only one legitimate order of priests, temple and ritual became essential elements in worship without which Yahweh's grace could not reach His people, Jeremiah could only say that so to act and speak is to transform the religion of Yahweh. Sacrifices are not essential to the Yahwistic faith, for Yahweh never commanded them. Make something essential which Yahweh did not command, and it is not Yahweh who dwells with you in the house which is His peculiar property.

Does this imply that Jeremiah was always in opposition to what is commonly called the Deuteronomic reform under Josiah? Adequately to answer such a question would require a full discussion on the Book of Deuteronomy, which of course is impossible at the close of a short article: but something may at least be suggested.

The purpose of Deuteronomy is the purification of the Yahweh worship from every taint of Baalism. Even in its present form it attacks and seeks to suppress the intermixture of the two religions. Anything which it orders by way of practical legislation has this as its controlling motive, and the motive dominates its two main lines of practical reform. Thus it lays down regulations as to the place of worship. Every place which Israel employs shall be a place which Yahweh thy God shall choose, i.e., it shall be a place which has no heathen associations. Israel shall only worship where Yahweh and Yahweh alone has received a lonely and worthy recognition. Whatever place Israel uses for its worship shall also tolerate no heathen emblem, but shall at once be purified from every symbol of an alien faith. But the book, as has often been noted, nowhere mentions

Jerusalem ; and it nowhere definitely commands that there shall be only one altar and one sanctuary. Even the regulations of chapter xii., where most of the rules as to the place of worship are contained, could be obeyed by a people who worshipped at several sanctuaries, so long as these sanctuaries had never possessed heathen associations and were purged of all heathen accessories. I do not say that the regulations command different places of worship, but merely that they do not confine worship to only one. Indeed Deuteronomy xvi. 21 goes a little further, for it seems on any fair reading to contemplate the continued existence of more altars than one.[1] If the authors of the book had meant to forbid worship at any except one shrine, they failed to say it clearly. What they did want to say, they succeeded in saying quite clearly, viz., worship shall be confined to a shrine or shrines which have associations only with Yahweh.

Again, the book lays down regulations as to the priesthood and sacrifices which run along the same lines. It seeks to confine sacrifice in the hands of Levitical priests, so that, being maintained in the right tradition, the cult may be purified from every heathen taint. But every Levitical priest may offer sacrifice, if only he will forsake the tainted shrines and confine his ministrations to the places which are acknowledged as belonging to Yahweh alone. Again, it is left vague as to whether the new place, where he seeks service after forsaking the forbidden shrine, is one or many. Agreeable to its main aim, the code is content to say that the place he does serve must be a Yahweh sanctuary. But

[1] It is because a document, ambiguous on this principle so vital in later Judaism, and open to this double interpretation, could never in my view have been produced, and, even if it had been produced, would never have been *accepted as authoritative* and admitted to the Canon by the post-exilic priesthood, that I feel Kennett's effort to make Deuteronomy later than the exile so hopeless. On this question they tolerated no ambiguity, any more than Rome will tolerate ambiguity about the Papacy.

the priests are not confined to the family of Zadok, who claimed descent from Aaron. It has long been recognised that the regulation which permitted a Levitical priest to seek service at a Yahweh sanctuary was never carried out, because, so soon as the worship was confined to Jerusalem, the Zadokite priests there refused to admit the strangers to a share in the solemn duties at the altar. Naturally, for not only was the income of the men in possession threatened through the influx of strangers, but there was little need for so large a personnel of priests at a single shrine. So sure was this last result, that one finds it difficult to believe in men ordering liberty of access to the numerous Levitical priests from the high places, if they had believed or intended that there should only be one altar in the land. However, the action of the Zadokite priests merely proves in one conspicuous detail how, when Deuteronomy was interpreted to imply restriction of sacrifice to one place, this inevitably led to the restriction of the priesthood to one caste. The logic of the admitted principle worked itself out to the end.

What Jeremiah's attitude seems to bring out and make clear is that there were two ways of interpreting the great effort at reform in Deuteronomy. The regulations in the book were vague on certain subjects and ambiguous on others ; but, even had they been more precise than they are, they were what laws always have been and will be, a nose of wax which can be turned any way by those whose task it is to administer, and, through administering, to interpret them. There were men, said Jeremiah, who, wielding the false pen of the scribe, turned the whole legislation into a lie. They made one place of worship and one type of sacrifice, offered by one family of priests, essentials of the worship of Israel. So soon as they did this thing, they made certain outward observances, which had not been commanded by Yahweh, the means, without which the

grace of God could not come to men. There were others who believed that by such conduct and teaching Yahwism was being made different from what its native genius meant it to be. Of these we have no right to declare that Jeremiah was the only representative, for there are phenomena in later Judaism which show the same wider temper in other quarters. But certainly Jeremiah is the outstanding representative of the finer, wider, more spiritual attitude of mind. He stands above the rest, because he saw at once, by the instinct of a prophet, to what the new method of interpretation inevitably tended, a poorer thought of God and of the ways of His grace to men. And, seeing this, he was not content with a polemic against the prevailing opinion, but he stated in broad, clear lines what were the few things which were essential to the presence and the continuance of true religion among his people.

ADAM C. WELCH.

THE HUMOROUS ELEMENT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

To say that the Bible must be regarded as a library rather than as a book is but to repeat a statement trite and commonplace to the last degree. Yet for all its apparent commonplaceness it is necessary to insist upon the fact, for it is by no means as adequately recognised as might and ought to be the case; and the amazing literary comprehensiveness of this treasure-house of sacred lore is but imperfectly realised by not a few diligent readers of Holy Scripture. Biography, history, philosophy, poetry, oratory, and drama, are some only of the types of literary production which are to be found in one or other of the canonical writings of the Old and New Testaments. But, for all its wealth of literary forms, there is one which it hardly occurs

to the majority of Bible-readers to look for or to expect, the humorous. In this matter Christian sentiment has proved to be, in the main, a trustworthy guide; for the subject-matter of Scripture is too serious and too sacred to permit of the humorous forming an appreciable element therein.

The literary comprehensiveness of the Bible is, however, such that, infrequent though it may be, the element of humour is not absolutely excluded therefrom. It does not indeed vaunt itself—that had been out of keeping with the general tone of Holy Scripture, and had savoured of irreverence. Yet the touch of humour is not entirely lacking, though in form so delicate and so restrained, and in such setting that it cannot by any means offend the most fastidious, nor appear to the smallest degree out of place. It is seen perhaps at its best in *The Book of Esther*, to which in the present paper our attention may be confined. For in this priceless gem of Hebrew literature we shall find the most striking, though perhaps not the only illustration of delicately humorous writing that the Old Testament can show.

Into the important critical questions relevant to an exhaustive study of *The Book of Esther* it is beyond the scope of the present paper to enter. Nor is it here necessary to discuss the claim, sometimes disputed, of this masterpiece of Hebrew narrative literature to its place within the canon of the Old Testament; though the writer may perhaps be permitted to remark, in passing, that that claim appears to him to be abundantly justified. The Greek additions to the Hebrew *Esther*, well known to readers of the *Apocrypha*, may also be passed over; for these, though by no means devoid of interest, are, in respect alike of style and subject-matter, markedly inferior to the chapters included in the canonical work. For the purpose which we have immedi-

ately in view it will be unnecessary to go beyond the limits of the latter; and, leaving disputed questions aside, to concern ourselves solely with its literary form.

The leading personages of the story, and the story itself, are no doubt familiar enough to all who read these lines, and need no description here. Taking the story and its prolegomena for granted we may therefore proceed forthwith to its consideration from our own particular standpoint. There is, it will be observed, a delicious touch of humour in the picture of that great man, the Grand Vizier Haman, with the world of Persia at his feet, and wielding little less than the full powers of royalty, yet, like a spoiled child, filled with discontent by reason of the attitude assumed towards himself by one of his subordinates. The offending official, the Jewish exile Mordecai, cousin and guardian of the young queen Esther, is of course the real hero of the piece. Mordecai was evidently a member of the bureaucracy of the Persian Empire, and appears to have occupied a position of sufficient importance to render his demeanour somewhat noticeable, and to make it a matter of concern to so great a personage as the Grand Vizier. It is by no means unlikely that he filled some secretarial office. But, be that as it may, the matter of his offence was that he refused to accord to the powerful Minister those external marks of respect and deference, the obeisances and salaams so dear to the heart of an Oriental—tokens of respect which it would appear were otherwise rendered without hesitation or demur by the entire official personnel of the Empire.

One cannot picture without a smile the mighty Haman as he comes forth from the Queen's banquet of wine, almost bursting with self-importance, and saluted on every hand with the most abject deference, as his eye unexpectedly falls upon the hated Mordecai, who with averted face passes on his way without one sign of respect or recognition.

Like a crossed child he hurries homeward to enlarge upon his greatness and his troubles in the ears of a sympathising circle of his family and friends. Haman's wife is vividly depicted as a strong-minded and eminently practical woman, quick to see a way out of the difficulty and resolute to press it upon her spouse. Great as the latter may have appeared to the outside world, when seen at home side by side with his consort he shrinks into something like insignificance, and quite naturally recedes into the second place.

Madame Haman, so far as our information goes, heard her husband out without remark, as he told his tale of prosperity and annoyance. When he had quite finished his lady replied briefly and to the point, "If the man annoys you have him hanged, and be done with it," for so her counsel may be paraphrased into modern speech. The idea appealed to Haman as being distinctly good, and quite feasible; and any one who knows how cheaply human life has been held in Persia in quite recent times will readily understand that, in the Old Persia of nearly two and a half millenniums ago, his wife's suggestion would, in Haman's ears, sound neither outrageous nor absurd. The latter, in matter of fact, once the idea had been mooted, felt so absolutely certain of being able to carry it into effect that he at once set about his preparations for the forthcoming execution. He hastily ordered that a gallows should be got ready, not an ordinary gallows by any means, but one of such unusual size as should arrest the attention of beholders from afar, and which, in terms incapable of being misunderstood, should emphatically warn all and sundry that trifling with the feelings and infringing the dignity of the all-powerful vizier was a perilous game to play.

His arrangements complete, Haman betook himself to rest with an easy mind. He had had what he could hardly

have regarded otherwise than as a successful day. He had been the one non-royal guest at a royal banquet, and he had a similar engagement for the morrow—a most distinguished mark of court favour. Even more pleasing, perhaps, was the prospect of ridding himself for ever of the hated presence of Mordecai, whose undisguised contempt amid otherwise universal adulation nettled his very soul, and was the one shadow upon his political and social success. In view of what the eagerly anticipated morrow was actually to bring forth there is a distinct, if unobtrusive, element of humour in the situation. But it is humour of the grimmer kind, tragedy and comedy cheek by jowl.

If Haman rested well that night his master certainly did not, for sleep persistently refused to visit the restless couch of the king, a sufficiently commonplace occurrence in the experience of most men; yet in this particular instance fraught with far-reaching consequences. To beguile the tedium of the night, or perchance to woo the fickle goddess—to which latter end the expedient adopted may appear to some to be not ill devised—Ahasuerus ordered his attendants to read before him the annals of his reign. The record to which he listened reminded the august listener of a great personal service which Mordecai had rendered to him, and which had so far gone unrewarded, an omission which he resolved to rectify with the dawn.

The night passed, and Haman was early astir, impatient to secure the royal assent to the projected hanging[1] as soon as the king should be ready to receive. Soon after daybreak he was in the outer court of the palace in order that he might gain access to the royal presence at the earliest possible moment. In the meantime Ahasuerus himself, determined that Mordecai's service should not remain unrecognised one moment longer than he could help, was

[1] Probably impalement, but the point is one which need not be discussed.

already inquiring whether any important officers of state were yet within the precincts of the palace. To his intense gratification he learned that no less a personage than the Grand Vizier himself was in attendance in the outer court. A messenger was hurriedly dispatched to bid the immediate attendance of that great official upon his master.

The scene which imagination at this point conjures up is not merely full of humour, it is a perfect comedy. The reader of the wonderful chapter in which the story is told can literally see Haman bustling into the Presence, almost bursting with self-importance, and full of his project against Mordecai, now apparently within an ace of accomplishment, yet restrained by court etiquette from broaching the matter until the king shall have been pleased to give him an opening.

Immediately upon his entrance the vizier is greeted with the question, "What shall be done to the man whom the king delights to honour?" To Haman, prime favourite as he was, it seemed obvious that his master could have but one person in mind. He doubtless muttered under his breath the vernacular equivalent of that inelegant expression, to which we have all had recourse at some time or other, "That's me." On the assumption that he himself was the fortunate person he evidently made his suggestion, his face lighting up with pleasure and pride as he pictured himself being paraded through Susa in royal array, proclamation being made before him, as he advanced on his triumphal progress, that he held the place supreme in the regard of majesty. What a climax to his climb to greatness it would be, and how it would make the soul of that scoundrel Mordecai to shrivel up! His final settlement with the Jew would form a pleasing and appropriate sequel to the parade.

If a bomb from a modern airplane had exploded at his

feet Haman could hardly have been more shaken and more utterly taken aback than he must have been when he received the king's command, uttered in direct and peremptory terms which admitted of neither discussion nor delay, "Make haste, and do even so to Mordecai." The sovereign was absolute master, the unquestioned lord of life and death, and for all his greatness the vizier was after all little better than a gilded slave. On his life he must obey, and that with a show of cheerfulness and without the omission of one single detail of the attention and honour which he himself had looked to receive at the hands of another. In spite of the severe restraint which etiquette and fear constrained Haman to put upon his feelings it must have been more than human nature could do to hide every trace of the state of consternation and wrath into which he had been thrown by his sovereign's unexpected order. His countenance must have been a mirror of the unpleasing emotions, which in kaleidoscopic variety succeeded one another—amazement, chagrin, disappointment and shame, and anger not untinged with fear, which the unlucky statesman's greatest exercise of will could not entirely disguise. The tumult of emotion which almost swept him off his feet cannot be adequately pourtrayed; but Haman must certainly have felt that the edifice of his prosperity was already tottering on the insecure foundation of royal favour, which it appeared was already in process of being transferred from himself to another. That other, heretofore the especial object of his hatred and contempt, must henceforth be regarded as a formidable rival. How far Haman was able to keep up appearances we have no means of knowing, but in fact it was as a broken man that he went forth to discharge his most humiliating and distasteful duty.

Those who succeed, by the aid of a lively imagination, in living through this striking scene, which is indeed wonder-

fully well drawn, can hardly fail to appreciate its humour, which is delicious albeit a trifle grim. For, though this episode of old-world court intrigue and jealousy presents itself as a delightful comedy, it is comedy played in an atmosphere charged with all the elements of tragedy to come.

Haman spent a wretched morning parading his rival through the principal streets of the capital, making proclamation before him that this was the man whom the king delighted to honour. The fire of hatred in his heart doubtless burned more fiercely than ever against the highly favoured Jew; but, as already pointed out, with that familiar emotion, fear must now have mingled in at least equal degree. Humiliated beyond measure, haunted by apprehension, Haman wearily made his way homeward from his morning engagement. His programme for the day had indeed gone completely awry. The hanging, which had promised to be the most entertaining item therein, was certainly "off" for the present, and so far as its contriver could see was postponed *sine die*.

In his wretchedness and disappointment Haman would seem to have forgotten his engagement to dine at the palace. But a royal invitation is a command; and some of the court lackeys were soon at his door requiring his presence in the Queen's apartments forthwith. Little inclined for feasting as he may have felt he had no choice in the matter. So, bracing himself up to look as cheerful as possible, the unhappy vizier made haste to obey.

What happened at this memorable banquet is a familiar story. Ruin and death were the attendants at the feast. The bad man's plottings recoiled upon his own head. His wicked intrigues were mercilessly laid bare; and, falling in a moment from the very summit of earthly greatness, Haman was hurried away from the Queen's table to the doom that befitted his offence.

There is but one incident in this closing chapter of an ill-spent life that need concern us here. When Haman, exposed and utterly broken, abjectly crouched in the royal presence imploring mercy, a wretched eunuch, who that morning would himself have cringed before the all-powerful vizier and hastened to gratify his lightest whim, was the first to kick the great man when he was down. A true parasite of despotism, and a fair exemplar of the spirit of oriental courtiership, he was quick to side against the fallen Minister, whom he may very well have hated even while he cringed before him, servilely eager to oblige. But for the fact that the whole atmosphere of this painful scene is tense with tragedy, Harbonah would present an almost comic, though always contemptible figure. Seeing that Haman is doomed, and that the angry monarch is impatient for his execution, the eunuch shows indecent eagerness to curry favour by remarking that the preparations for *an* execution are already complete, and that they have been made for the excellent Mordecai by the culprit himself. The reader can almost see the man, smug and smirking, and in humorous vein, treating the whole circumstance as a merry conceit, and jesting about the gallows which awaits a victim—beautiful gallows, quite out of the common, something like eighty feet high, made by Haman for somebody else, it is the very thing to meet his own case!

There is perhaps a touch of humour in this sordid episode, but its appeal is to a certain extent stifled by reason of the element of baseness and cruelty with which it is overweighted. But to ruffians of the Harbonah type it would no doubt be exquisitely funny. Yet there is undoubtedly a certain dramatic fitness and a measure of substantial justice in the manner of Haman's end. There is a great lesson also, a lesson as relevant to-day as ever it has been in the days

that are gone ; it is, however, so obvious that there is no need to enlarge upon it here.

At this point we must leave the narrative of *The Book of Esther*. It presents a most lively and vivid picture of court life in the ancient East. As narrative it holds a position in the world's literature which is beyond challenge ; and it affords a striking illustration of the fact that the element of humour is not entirely to seek among the literary forms of the Old Testament.

W. Ernest Beet.

PAUL AND HIS FIRST CRITICS.

PAUL'S religious position was questioned and challenged at an early period in his own lifetime. Not all his contemporaries appreciated the importance of this new recruit to Christianity. Looking back upon the situation of Christianity in the first century, we can recognise that it was providential to have a man of his mental and moral powers enlisted in the ranks of the new cause. He came in, we can now see, at the fitting moment. Viscount Bryce takes him as one of the examples of men who inherited and used the opportunity of the age. "St. Paul coming at a moment when a new religious teaching had to be diffused over the world, St. Augustine when the fall of Rome made it necessary to create a theological view of history to replace the reverence for the Empire that was breaking in pieces, Thomas of Aquinum meeting the call of the moment for a philosophical systematisation of Christian doctrine, Kant stirred to his constructive work by the scepticism of Hume, may be cited as instances of this. Whenever such minds had come into the world they would probably have done memorable work, but the stimulus of the moment would have been wanting, and the state of the world might have prevented their gifts from having full effect."[1] Paul arrived, as we might say, at the psychological moment, when the transition from Judaism to Christianity had to be thought out and fought out. He was not the first to initiate the mission to non-Jews. But he was the first to think out its implications, along broader and deeper lines than those suggested by Stephen. He had the advantage of having been born a Jew. He knew the intense prejudices which had to be overcome, even by a Christian soul, in order to admit that

[1] *Modern Democracies*, vol. i., pp. 122, 123.

non-Jews might and must be ranked on the same footing as Jews within the Christian Church. He understood also that this was a matter on which there could be no compromise. There must be a frank recognition that anyone, wherever he was born, could become a Christian without becoming a Jew. One of the first crises in his career was started by the clash between the two parties in the early church over this disputed question. And Paul's position was severely criticised. Like many a pioneer, he was misunderstood not only by his opponents but by some of his followers. And his initial success was not final; criticism and interference followed him up in his subsequent mission —so much so that he had once at least to recall the exact circumstances of the initial crisis, in order to make his principles absolutely clear not only to those who challenged them but to members of his church who were in danger of misinterpreting what he stood for.

This is the significance of the tense fragment of autobiography in the first two chapters of the Epistle to the Galatians. It was not written till some time after the crisis, and we have no other account of the inner situation which the apostle records. These are two features which have to be taken into account, as we read this passage, warm with indignation and quivering with intense feeling. But they do not deprive it of historical value. Paul's reminiscences are accurate, as far as they go; we might even say, they had to be, if they were to serve his purpose. And, although none of his opponents left any statement of the struggle, it is possible to infer from his allusions what the opposition party maintained and how they worked. Besides, the first stage of the controversy is described in Acts, although Luke, writing when the bitter conflict was over, did not care to recall the personalities and animosities of the crisis. Luke is not particularly interested in the inner

life of the Pauline churches. We could not gather from the pages of Acts that there had been anything like the later crisis in the Galatian churches which Paul describes, and even Luke's account of the earlier crisis presents the official rather than the personal side of the matter.

All this has naturally led to intricate and prolonged discussion. Recently three contributions have been made to the problem, two of which agree in considering that one element of the problem is fairly settled, i.e. that the incidents mentioned in Galatians ii. 1–10 are those which Luke describes in Acts xv. Two of these contributions are essays in the new Scandinavian magazine, *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, a paper by Anton Fridrichsen upon Paul's defence of himself in Galatians i., and a discussion by Lyder Brun of the apostolic decree and council in Acts xv. The third is Professor De Witt Burton's edition of Galatians in the *International Critical Commentary*, a book of sound judgment and well-weighed opinions. Professor Burton's patient exegesis and his elaborate introduction ought to steady criticism of Galatians. For example, he undermines effectively the hypothesis, which still lingers in some quarters, that Galatians was the earliest of the Pauline epistles,[1] and indeed composed before the Council of Jerusalem. But, what is much more important, he demonstrates the impossibility of getting any sense out of Galatians ii. 1–10, unless we keep in mind the fact that all this refers not to the events in Acts xi. 30, xii. 25, but to those in Acts xv. Brun independently proves this, and it is one of the strong points in his admirable paper. Both scholars succeed in showing that, while there are difficulties upon any hypothesis, the difficulties raised by this view are not only far from serious but capable of an unforced answer.

[1] This is one of the *obiter dicta* in Professor C. H. Turner's *Study of the New Testament* (1920), p. 24.

Fridrichsen's essay is more subtle and, I think, less convincing. As it deals with Galatians i., it will be better to notice it first, before passing on to the problems of the second chapter.

Read Galatians over, then read the first chapter carefully, and what is the impression left upon the mind? That Paul's authority has been challenged, that some churchmen have suggested to his Galatian churches that their apostle's orders are not valid, that he is meeting perhaps "the declaration or insinuation of his opponents that only a personal follower of Jesus could be an apostle" (Burton). The general idea is plain. It is the details which are uncertain, since they depend upon inferences drawn from what may be taken as allusions. Now Fridrichsen's essay starts from the assumption that there were two criticisms forced upon Paul, against which he is defending himself. One was, that his gospel was derivative; the other, that it was erroneous. This obviously raises a problem. If his opponents insisted that Paul owed his authority and doctrine to the senior apostles, how could they charge him with faulty teaching? Plainly, says Fridrichsen, we face an enigma here. The two charges do not seem to hang together.

But is there a real incoherence? Do the words *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον* in verse 11 (*γνωρίζω γὰρ ὑμῖν . . . τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν κ.α.*) mean that Paul's gospel was accused of fallibility?[1] Supposing that his critics belonged to the narrower party of Judaisers, is it not probable that their objection to his gospel of freedom

[1] The context, in ver. 10, shows that the agitators charged him with appealing to the interests of men, of trying to please men, i.e. by sparing them the painful operation of circumcision, and generally by making the gospel easy for them. He retorts, "My gospel is no human affair" (and therefore cannot be accused of such low motives and methods). Then he proceeds to bring out its divine authority.

ran back to his alleged divergence from the authorised gospel of the twelve and of James? He was wrong just because he had swerved from their position. "The only charge which the opponents can have made will therefore have run somewhat as follows: Paul received his gospel from others (viz., the senior apostles), as we also did, and it was his duty to abide by that (i.e. in the chain of tradition, Jesus, senior apostles, Paul); but he has broken free, without any justification, from this right and proper dependence, and preached to the Gentiles a lawlessness which has no authority. It is only this last step which the opponents can have criticised, for otherwise they would have been blaming the senior apostles and themselves; and only on account of this step can they have seen in the present Pauline gospel a blameworthy, because merely human, factor."[1] The apostle's reply to this is quite clear. He maintains that his commission as an apostle is not derived from the twelve, i.e. from any human source, but directly from God.[2] The point of the argument in chapters i.–ii. is that his authority is as legitimate as that of the senior apostles, that he and they mutually recognised each other as apostles, and that his gospel of freedom was included in this recognition. No gospel worthy of the name, he insists, could be a gospel lacking in freedom from Jewish ritual. Christianity must be de-nationalised, and when his opponents taunted him with the orthodox Jerusalem church and its practice—a taunt which no doubt impressed the provincial Galatians—he retorted that there was no difference between them on this point, and that—apart from a small coterie who sheltered themselves behind the name of James—

[1] Dr. C. H. Watkins, *St. Paul's Fight for Galatia*, p. 99.

[2] This is sharply put in i. 15 f., where he is claiming that "he was born, and born *again*, to be the Gentile apostle, gifted both by nature and by regeneration for his high calling" (Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, p. 42).

the authorities had pronounced his gospel adequate and complete. He quotes Peter, James and John to this effect, closing and clinching his argument with this verdict (ii. 7–10). And the story of Acts corroborates his assertion. Conservative prejudices might deflect Peter, as they did at Antioch, or incline James to be cautious and moderate, if not hesitating, once the ardent pressure of Paul was removed. But his case is that his gospel was formally sanctioned. The senior apostles "saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel for the benefit of the uncircumcised, just as Peter had been for the circumcised (for He who equipped Peter to be an apostle of the circumcised equipped me as well for the uncircumcised), and recognised the grace I had been given." That is, Paul's claim to be a true apostle of the gospel was recognised, and the recognition involved the truth of the gospel he preached. For his immediate purpose, this was all that he required to prove. It is true that "the gospel of the circumcision and the gospel of the uncircumcision had certain elements in common, but they were by no means identical."[1] However, to rally the Galatians, Paul was simply concerned to show that the gospel he had preached to them was *the* gospel, which required no supplement. To do this he had to assert again the validity of his apostolic commission from the Lord. Hence the line of his argument in chapters i.–ii. He is claiming for all he has done, and for all he has taught, divine authority. From Christ he has a direct commission. In repelling the charge of his opponents, he disputes the premise of their argument; the line of apostolic succession is not "Jesus—the senior apostles—Paul," but "Jesus—Paul" in his case, as much as "Jesus—the senior apostles" in theirs. Hence criticism alike of his gospel and of his authority falls to the ground.

[1] Burton, p. lxiii.

Fridrichsen, however, sets himself to solve the problem he has raised. He begins by refuting Lütgert's recent attempt[1] to prove that the Galatian churches were upset by an antinomian party as well as by the Judaistic agitators. This hypothesis of an antinomian element in the Pauline Churches has been already brought forward by Lütgert in connexion with some of the other epistles; he now extends it to Galatians, but unsuccessfully, as Fridrichsen points out. It does not follow from i. 8 that there was a party who appealed to angelic revelations in support of their particular gospel, and that they charged Paul with having received his gospel of freedom from some of the Jerusalem apostles instead of from a supernatural revelation, as if this charge was in Paul's mind when he wrote i. 18–19. Nor does v. 11 imply that he was charged with repeating and reproducing the traditional gospel of Peter and the others. Fridrichsen's own view is that the allusions in Galatians indicate the existence of a liberal party already in the Palestinian or Jerusalem church, from whom Paul was alleged to have received his gospel of freedom, and that the apostle is concerned to meet these charges of the Judaists by showing that his intercourse with the Judæan Christians left no time for any such indebtedness. On this view, the anti-Pauline agitation in Galatia moved as follows. The agitators insisted that the true source of authority lay in the senior apostles, that Paul had really been under their orders, and that they had supervised his gospel. "Yet it could not be denied that Paul had preached far and wide the gospel of freedom from the law. Ah, they said, that simply proves how adroit he is; now he preaches circumcision, now freedom from the law; he is a master of unscrupulous tactics, of *ἀνθρώπους πείθειν*. The readiest

[1] In his monograph on Galatians, *Gesetz und Geist*, contributed to the *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*.

explanation of it is that he has learned his gospel from other men, and other men are using him as a tool for their own purposes." But when Fridrichsen's proofs for the existence of any such party in the Jerusalem church are examined, they amount to very little. He conjectures that there must have been a party of such liberal views, influenced by the teaching of Stephen, and represented by men like Philip the evangelist and Mnason of Cæsarea. This is not satisfactory evidence. It would have been much more to the point if Paul's opponents had charged him with receiving his gospel at second-hand from the church at Antioch. But even this is absent from the allusions in the Galatian epistle. The truth is, the words of the epistle do not suggest that Paul was conscious of being criticised as inferior to any person or party as an exponent of Christian freedom. The agitators brought up against him the senior apostles. It is against the claims made for them, not by them, that he protests. And his language is quite intelligible without the introduction of any side-allusions to an insinuation that his preaching of freedom was due to unauthorised inspiration from some earlier party in the church.

Brun's essay deals with the second chapter. But he naturally begins by analysing the evidence of Acts.

In the story of Acts *presbyters* suddenly appear; Luke casually observes that Barnabas and Paul brought the contribution from the Antioch church *to the presbyters* at Jerusalem (Acts xi. 30). No explanation of their origin is given, as is done in the case of the Seven. Later on, when Luke and his companions reached Jerusalem, we are also told that they *accompanied Paul to James, and all the presbyters were present* (xxi. 18). At the Council, in chapter xv. 1, both apostles and presbyters were present, and Brun remarks that evidently Peter represented the former, James the latter. It may be so. But, according to Paul, James

was an apostle at this period, and probably Paul's view was the common view. Brun is on safer ground when he sets aside all attempts [1] to dissect Acts xv. into separate sources, and concludes that Galatians ii. 1–10 and Acts xv. refer to the same event or series of events. Here he is reinforced by Professor Burton, and it would be a gain if criticism could shake itself clear of the meticulous arguments which find an irreconcilable difference between these two passages. Brun goes on to dispute the hypothesis that the decree of the Jerusalem council has been ante-dated ; James' allusion to it in xxi. 25 does not imply that it was comparatively recent, and unknown to Paul, any more than is the case in i. 16 f., when Peter tells the disciples about the fate of Judas, as if it were unknown to them. In both cases, a familiar fact is recalled and rehearsed.

Having cleared these difficulties out of the way, he then turns to discuss the meaning and motive of the decree itself, and specially of the closing injunction that non-Jewish Christians were to " abstain from food that has been offered to idols, from tasting blood, from the flesh of animals that have been strangled, and from sexual vice." He rightly sees that the Western, moralistic version is secondary. The words *καὶ πνικτῶν* were certainly in the original decree. Their omission is much more credible than their insertion, for it might be thought that they covered the same ground as *αἵματος*, and later on they might be left out as unintelligible to non-Jewish Christians.[2] Then what is the object of the four injunctions ? The answer is to be found in the first, preliminary mention of them by James, in verses 19–21. " In my opinion, we ought not to put fresh difficulties in the way of those who are turning to God from

[1] Apparently he has in view, here and elsewhere, the views of J. Weiss in his *Urchristenthum* (i. 194 f.).

[2] Brun admits that the four injunctions " are grouped inorganically, in a connexion which is rather sicklied over by the spirit of rabbinism."

among the Gentiles, but write them injunctions to abstain from whatever is contaminated by idols, from sexual vice, from the flesh of animals that have been strangled, and from tasting blood ; for Moses has had his preachers from the earliest ages in every town, where he is read aloud in the synagogues every sabbath." These words give us the reason for the injunctions. What James had primarily in mind was the mission to Jews.[1] Unless non-Jewish Christians agreed to these restrictions, any successful Jewish mission would be difficult if not impossible. This theory of Brun, however, fails to explain why three out of the four injunctions are connected with food. No doubt, any indifference to such regulation would have seriously compromised the mission to the Jews, but this is not incompatible with the emphasis on such regulations as necessary to peaceful relations between non-Jewish and Jewish Christians. I should put stress on the latter rather than the former.

Brun concludes that the language of Galatians ii. 2 implies that a private interview with the authorities preceded[2] the public conference described in Acts xv., and on this point Professor Burton agrees. Also, that the language of verse 3 means that Titus was not circumcised, in spite of the pressure put upon the apostle by the narrower party at Jerusalem.[3] As Professor Burton puts it, " any view

[1] Perhaps including the mission to Jewish Christians who were still connected with the synagogues. But this, says Brun, was not the primary consideration.

[2] That it followed the public discussions, as De Faye (*Étude sur les origines de l'age apostolique*, p. 225) argues, is much less probable. Any delicate negotiation of this kind begins with an attempt to arrange preliminaries in private.

[3] The omission of οὐδέ by some early authorities in ver. 5, which makes Paul yield, is certainly a difficulty. Brun ingeniously suggests that (a) Marcion's polemical use of οὐδέ may have compromised it in the eyes of Catholic Christians, (b) that other cases of accommodation on the part of Paul, like the circumcising of Titus, may have contributed to the idea

which assumes that Titus was circumcised involves the conclusion that Paul surrendered his case under compulsion or through wavering, and that in his present argument he made a disingenuous and unsuccessful attempt to prove that he did not surrender it." It is useful to have this point reiterated, and to see short work made of explanations which regard *we gave place by way of subjection* as a reference to Paul's readiness to visit Jerusalem at all.

There is only one other item in Brun's article to which I would direct attention, not because it is of first-rate importance, but because it is novel. It arises out of the language used in verse 6. In *ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ δοκοῦντες οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο,* is the *ἐμοὶ* emphatic? Some editors, like Professor Burton, pass it over as unemphatic; but others dwell upon it as a suggestion of some subtle contrast. Why does Paul say, "these so-called 'authorities' had nothing to add to *me*"? Is he contrasting himself with the leading men in his own churches, on whom the narrower party sought to impose restrictions? Or is it an implicit contrast to what he has already said in verse 2, "I laid my gospel before the authorities, but they laid nothing extra upon me"? Brun dismisses both explanations and prefers to overhear in these words a disclaimer of the four injunctions which were imposed upon non-Jewish Christians at the public conference. At the private meeting, Paul insists, *I* had no such regulations imposed upon me; all the "authorities" did was to delimit my sphere of action and to wish me godspeed in my mission to non-Jews. This sounds rather too subtle.[1] The *ἐμοὶ* is emphatic simply because it is contrasted with the *οἱ*

that he gave way here also, and that (c) *πρὸς ὥραν* is common in the New Testament, whereas *οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν* never occurs.

[1] Brun claims that his view disposes of the ordinary objection that in Galatians Paul never alludes to the decree. But it is difficult to overhear this particular allusion.

δοκοῦντες. Paul is reiterating his independence, as against the insinuation that his visit to Jerusalem meant a deference on the point of principle and authority. The words do not involve anything more than this, and it is unfair to press the ἐμοὶ, as if Paul had some others in his mind. All he says is that "these 'authorities' had no additions to make to my gospel." And neither they had. It was not criticised as incomplete; no addition, in the shape of circumcision, was made to it. On the contrary, Paul continues, they recognised that the only difference between themselves and me lay in the respective spheres of the Christian mission.

Apart from some details like this, which do not carry much weight, Brun's article is significant; it shows a balance and a power of historical judgment which are of value in the criticism of the records dealing with this crisis in the Pauline mission. Neither he nor Professor Burton feels obliged to maintain the historicity of Acts *in toto;* the latter regards Acts xi. 27–30, for example, as inaccurate (p. 117), and Brun doubts whether Luke is correct in stating (Acts xvi. 4) that Paul handed the decree to the Lycaonian churches. Their restatement of the problem is not an ingenious effort of harmonising. What is to the good in their analyses of the relevant data is their sober sense, which reminds one of Dr. Hort more than of any one else.

JAMES MOFFATT.

THE ODES OF SOLOMON.

Scholars are not yet entirely agreed as to the date and motive of the Odes of Solomon, but agreement is slowly being reached on many points of interpretation. It is now pretty generally accepted that the Odes are Christian throughout, and also that the idea set out in the *editio princeps* that they were the private songs of a non-sacramental mystic must be abandoned. I believe that I was among the first to challenge this view, and I have given in my edition (of 1912) many—some critics have thought too many—illustrations of the language of the Odist from the baptismal rituals.

Dr. Harris is still persuaded that the Odes are of very early date, as his article in the April number of the Expositor shews; he supposes that they go back to the end of the first century. His colleague, Dr. Mingana, takes the same view, if I understand him aright, although he guards himself by saying that to fix a precise date between 70 and 210 A.D. is, "strictly speaking, impossible." [1] I agree that, if we confined ourselves to the lines of evidence which Dr. Mingana and Dr. Harris explore, it would be impossible to say confidently whether the Odes belong to the first or second century, except in regard to Ode xix. where second-century doctrine is apparent. For the truth is, that neither the argument from supposed quotations in Barnabas and Ignatius,[2] nor from the Logos doctrine of the Odes, nor

[1] *John Rylands Library Bulletin*, January, 1921, p. 162.

[2] It must now be said that Dr. Mingana does not agree with Dr. Harris in thinking that the passages cited by the latter are quotations (l.c. p. 182). They are only illustrative, as he rightly says.

from the parallels which Dr. Harris has provided with so much learning from the Biblical Targums, has convinced the large majority of scholars. The sum of a number of inconclusive arguments remains inconclusive. And Dr. Harris has not provided any argument, so far as I know, which is really complete, to establish the early date of the Odes. There is a story told of a judge and an advocate which I commend to my old friend in this connexion. A brilliant pleader produced half-a-dozen weak arguments in favour of his case, and ended by saying, "On the whole, my lord, it seems clear, etc." All that the judge said was, "Don't you think, Mr. X., that *on the whole* is a signal of distress?"

The view that seems to me most reasonable is that the traces of baptismal doctrine and ceremonial which are to be found in many of the Odes forbid us to date them before 150 A.D., there being no counter argument making that date impossibly late. The other limit of date is furnished by their use in the *Pistis Sophia*. Hence, I have urged that the date 150 to 170 is most probable. I am not concerned to prove that "*everything* in the Odes refers to baptism," which Dr. Mingana seems to think has been my position. Ode xvi., for instance, contains nothing that specially connects it with baptismal rites. And there are other cases. But the point which Dr. Mingana has not, as it seems, appreciated is that the number of allusions in the Odes to baptismal doctrine is so large as to make it wholly impossible to date them before 150 A.D. His industry in examining the Romanised Syrian breviaries is very meritorious, but no one would expect to find much about baptismal rites in a *breviary*. My criticism upon his procedure, and upon that of Dr. Harris, is that they have not studied the oriental *rites*, as set out in Denzinger's *Ritus Orientalium*, the most complete collection of these rites in print. It

would be quite beside the point to challenge Denzinger's translation of isolated passages. His work, as a whole, is one which cannot safely be neglected by any student of baptismal ceremonial; and when Dr. Mingana explains that he has read *all* the Oriental rites given by Denzinger in their original texts, we congratulate him upon his assiduity and learning, but must express some surprise that he has taken no notice of the obvious parallels to the Odes which they supply.

I believe that it may be useful if I give here some additional patristic parallels to the Odes and illustrations which I have noted during the last half dozen years. Most of them point in the same direction, viz., that the Odes reflect the ecclesiastical beliefs and practices of the end of the second century.

Ode iv. 10. It is probable that the rite of administering milk and honey to the newly baptized goes back to Isaiah vii. 15. "Butter and honey shall he eat, when he knoweth to refuse the evil and choose the good," the prophecy of Christ being applied to the new Christian.

Ode vi. 12. Dr. Mingana admits now that this Ode "is probably veneered at the close with a baptismal reference"[1] To my former notes on this point, I would add another. In Ode vi. 12 the "ministers of the draught" who are entrusted with the Divine waters are not only said to have caught back souls from death, but "*limbs that had fallen they have straightened* and set up." Now in the *Acts of Thomas* § 121 there is an invocation of the baptismal oil in the following terms: ἔλαιον ἅγιον . . . συ εἶ ὁ ἁπλωτὴς τῶν κεκαλυμένων[2] μελῶν, i.e., "thou art the *straightener of limbs that have been loosened or disjointed.*" The strangeness of the phrase makes the parallel with the Ode more striking.

[1] l.c. p. 181. [2] Apparently an incorrect form from καταλύω.

Ode viii. 17. In a Coptic form of benediction of the baptismal chrism, given by Denzinger,[1] the phrase occurs of the newly baptized "potans eos lacte rationali," which provides an illustration of the curious words of the Odist: "my own breasts I prepared for them, that they might drink my holy milk, and live thereby." No doubt, all such phrases go back to 1 Corinthians iii. 2 and 1 Peter ii. 2, but it is the allusion to them in a baptismal ritual that is significant in connexion with the Odes.

Ode ix. 8. The Odist sings of an Everlasting Crown of Truth: "a stone of great price . . . and the wars were on account of the Crown." Dr. Harris says that this "certainly is not the baptismal circlet." I am not so certain, when I find the baptismal circlet described in a Coptic baptismal rite as "coronam lapidibus pretiosis et margaritis ornatam."[2] It is quite possible that in both cases the phrase may be traced back to Psalm xx. 4, as Dr. Harris suggests, but that does not exclude a baptismal reference in the Ode any more than it excludes such a reference in the Coptic *Ordo*.

Ode xvi. 18 speaks of the alternations of day and night; "their reception (sun and night) one from the other" is the translation adopted by Dr. Harris and Dr. Mingana in their last edition, although they suggest that by a slight alteration of the text we can read "their succession, one from the other," which speaks "the beauty of God." This latter rendering seems to provide the better sense, and the same idea is expressed in very similar terms by Theodoret (on Isa. xl. 26) . . . *τὰς ἰσομέτρους νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας διαδοχάς· τὴν τῆς κτήσεως διακοσμησὶν*; i.e., the equal successions of day and night illustrate the beauty of nature. Parallels make different appeals to different minds, but this from Theodoret seems to me more illustrative than the parallel

[1] *Rit. Orient.* I. 261. [2] Denzinger, l.c. i. 221.

from Bardaisan upon which Dr. Mingana lays much stress.[1]

Ode xvii. 7. "He who knew and brought me up (*or* reared me) is the Most High." In his edition of the Odes Dr. Harris hesitates in placing these words in the mouth of Christ,[2] but in the April number of the EXPOSITOR,[3] he says that there is no doubt about it, and he defends this view by pointing out that the Targums on Isaiah xlii. 6 and lxi. 1 speak of God as *rearing* the Messiah or bringing Him up. But we need not go to the Targums for the idea that God *brings up* or *rears* His people. Jacob could speak of God as One who had fed him from his youth (*ὁ κύριος ὁ τρέφων με ἐκ νεότητος*, Genesis xlviii. 15); Israel is reproached in Moses' song for forgetting God who reared her (*ἐπέλαθου θεοῦ τοῦ τρέφοντός σε*, Deuteronomy xxxii. 18). The verb *τρέφω* may just as suitably be used of the upbringing of any Christian as of the nurture of Christ Himself (*ἦλθεν εἰς Ναζαρά, οὗ ἦν τεθραμμένος*, Luke iv. 16). Thus we have a prayer in an Armenian baptismal rite *Educ pueros;* and in another form, *Parvulos nutri et perduc ad aetatis mensuram.*[4] It is probable, I submit, that the words of Ode xvii. 7 are to be taken as spoken by Christ's disciple, and not by Christ Himself.

Ode xix. The curious language as to the Virgin Birth of Christ which appears in this Ode recalls, as most critics recognise, second-century folklore rather than first-century tradition. But the subject is, seemingly, so dissimilar to those reflected in the other Odes, that we ask for the reason of its inclusion in the collection. There is a passage in Ephraim which perhaps throws some light on this point: "The river which baptized him was again a type of his conception; the soft womb of the water conceived him in purity, and brought him forth in brilliance, and raised

[1] l.c., p. 183. [2] Vol. II. p. 293. [3] P. 279.
[4] Denzinger, l.c. i. 390.

him up in glory. In the pure bosom, mayest thou learn of the daughter of our race who conceived without a man, and brought forth without seed, and brought up by the Gift the Lord of the Gift." [1] That is to say, the Virgin Mary is a type of the Church bringing forth sons in baptism. And there is another passage in Ephraim which provides some verbal parallels to our Ode : " The pure Virgin suffered not. He went in, and came forth in pangs, and the Fair One perceived Him. Glorious and hidden was His entering in : vile and *visible His coming forth*, for He was God in His going in, and man in His coming forth." [2] The italicised words perhaps explain the point of the Odist's phrase, " She brought Him forth *openly* "(v. 9). And for the preceding verse of the Ode, " She brought forth, as it were a man, by the will (of God)," a patristic parallel can also be found in the commentary of Athanasius on Psalm xxii. 9 : σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐσπάσας με ἐκ γαστρός· τοῦτο φησιν, ἐπειδὴ κατ' εὐδοκίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐνηνθρώπησεν, i.e., " He became man, by the Father's will." All these parallels point to a date when speculation had begun to run riot in regard to the circumstances of Christ's Birth ; there is nothing of the first century about such language.

Ode xxiii. 5. " His thought was like a letter : His Will descended from on high, and it was sent like an arrow which is violently shot from the bow." Dr. Mingana has given some quotations from Syriac breviaries, which express the idea of the Will of God descending from heaven in the Incarnation. This may be is a clue to some of the perplexities of Ode xxiii., which is, as yet, unexplained as a whole. And in connexion with this idea, it may be pointed out that the Fathers speak of Christ as the Arrow

[1] Ephraim *opp. Graec.* ii. 329, quoted by Morris, *Select Works of Ephraim*, p. 86.

[2] Rhythm IV. *on the Faith* (Morris, l.c., p. 115).

of God. Commenting on Isaiah xlix. 2, *ἔθηκέν με ὡς βέλος ἐκλεκτον, καὶ ἐν τῇ φαρέτρᾳ αὐτοῦ ἔκρυψέν με*, Theodoret says that the "Quiver" represents the mystery of the *οἰκονομία*, that is, the Incarnation; and that the "Arrow" stands for Him who wounds the souls of those who love Him (quoting Cant. ii. 5, *τετρωμένη ἀγαπῆς ἐγὼ*). Origen also applies Isaiah xlix. 2 to Christ: "Salvator sagitta est dei, sicut scriptum, posuit me sicut sagittam electam"[1]; and in another place[2] he adds that all the Words of the Lord are like arrows, referring again to the Isaiah passage. And again, commenting on Psalm cxx. 4, *τὰ βέλη τοῦ δυναστοῦ*, he proceeds *οὐδὲν οὕτως ἁρμόζει πρὸς τὰς ἀντικειμένας δυνάμεις ὡς τὰ βέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰ ἀντικείμενα τοῖς πεπυρωμένοις βέλεσι τοῦ πονηροῦ*. It is probably only a verbal coincidence, but it is curious that Ode xxiii. in a later verse, speaks of "the opposing forces" which are overwhelmed by the wheel that "received" the "Letter" of the Arrow.

There is a passage in the LXX version of Psalm lx. 6 which may possibly have some bearing on the fear which Ode xxiii. 8 says was excited by this Arrow-Letter. *ἔδωκας τοῖς φοβουμένοις σε σημείωσιν, τοῦ φυγεῖν ἀπὸ προσώπου τόξου*. If this be relevant, it is very noteworthy that in a Coptic rite already quoted this *σημείωσις* is twice interpreted of the baptismal sign.[3]

Ode xxiv. 3, 4. "The abysses opened themselves, and were hidden; and they were asking for the Lord like women in travail; and He was not given to them for food, because He did not belong to them." Parallels to the language of this Ode about the Descent of Christ to Hades have already been found by myself and others in Ephraim, the *Testamentum Domini*, and the Eastern rituals; but I

[1] Hom. III. on Ps. xl. [2] In Ps. xxxviii. 2.
[3] Denzinger, l.c. i. 260, 261.

have lately come across a passage in Chrysostom [1] which provides the best illustration that I have seen : " Then was that prison burst, and the gates of brass were broken, and the dead were loosed, and the keepers of hell-gate all quaked for fear. And yet, had He been one of the many (εἰ τῶν πολλῶν εἷς ἦν), Death on the contrary should have become more mighty ; but it was not so. For He was not one of the many. Therefore was death dissolved. And as they who take food, which they are unable to retain, on account of that vomit up also what was before lodged in them ; so also it happened unto Death. That Body which he could not work upon, he received ; and therefore had to cast forth those also which he had within him. Yea, he travailed, whilst he held Him, and was straitened, until he vomited Him up. Therefore saith the Apostle, *having loosed the pains of death*. For never *woman in travail with child* (γυνὴ παιδίον κύουσα) was so full of anguish, as he was torn and racked in sunder, while he held the Lord's Body." That is, had Christ been a mere man, His death would have added but one more to the captives in Hades, and Death having swallowed Him up would have been so much the stronger. But as Christ was not " one of the many," Death could not retain Him ; and in disgorging Him, the pre-Christian saints were also expelled from the belly of hell. The pains of Death in this agony were like the pains of a travailing woman.

The Odist returns to the same theme in Ode xlii., where he sings : " Sheol saw me and was in distress ; Death cast me up and many along with me. I was gall and bitterness to him, and I went down with him to the utmost of his depths." [2]

Ode xxv. 8. " I was clothed with the covering of thy Spirit,

[1] Hom. xxiv. 7 on 1 Cor. x. 1 adopts the Oxford translation as a basis.
[2] Cf. Jonah ii. 6, ἄβυσσος ἐκύκλωσέν με ἐσχάτη.

and thou didst remove from me my raiment of skin." In my edition, I quoted the view of certain fathers who held that the " coats of skins " of Genesis iii. 21 mystically represented man's liability to death, his corruptible nature being, in some sort, laid aside at baptism. Dr. Mingana says it was " obvious " that I should have thought of this.[1] I am afraid it was not " obvious " to me, although I was the first to point out the allusion to Genesis iii. 21. But I have recently come across a passage in Origen which seems instructive. Commenting on the priestly garments mentioned in Leviticus viii., before putting on which the priests washed themselves, he says, " Sed et vos, qui sacrum baptisma desideratis accipere, et gratiam spiritus promereri, prius debetis ex lege purgari," etc., applying his text to the Christian initiation which began with washing. He then says that before we begin to discuss the priestly garments we must recall the coats of skin with which fallen Adam was clothed : " Si vero jam lotus ab his fueris, et purificatus per legem Dei, induet te Moses indumento incorruptionis, ita est nusquam appareat turpitudo tuo, et ut absorbeatur mortale hoc a vita." [2] Dr. Mingana's reference to Bardaisan does not provide a commentary so close as this. Others will judge impartially of the matter.

Ode xxviii. 2, 6. " As the wings of doves over their nestlings . . . so also are the wings of the Spirit over my heart . . . I have been set on His incorruptible wings." Origen, again, has a useful commentary. " Hi, qui virtutem spiritus sancti recipiunt, et sanctificantur ex eo, et dono ejus replentur, quia ipse in specie columbae apparuit, etiam ipsi columbae fiant, ut de terrenis et corporeis locis evolent, ad caelestia *pennis sancti spiritus* sublevati." [3] This is not as close to the words of the Odist as a passage

[1] l.c., p. 183. [2] Hom. VI. *in Leviticum* (Lommatzsch, IX. 275).
[3] *In Cant.* iv. (Lommatzsch xv. 68).

from a Syriac baptismal hymn which I quoted in the notes to my edition of 1912; but it is worth reproducing as illustrating once more the close relations between Origen's baptismal teaching and the teaching of the Odes.

Ode xxxvi. 3. "She [sc. the Holy Spirit] brought me forth before the face of the Lord; and although a son of man, I have been named a luminary, a son of God."

In Dr. Harris' earlier editions this latter clause was rendered: "I was named the Illuminate, the son of God." I adopted this rendering in my edition in the form "I was named the illuminated one, the son of God," and interpreted it of the baptized Christian, φωτίσθεις (cf. Hebrews vi. 4; x. 32). In the new edition of Dr. Harris and Dr. Mingana the translation was changed to: "I was named the Luminary, the Son of God." This would imply that the words are spoken *ex ore Christi*, and would involve the strange heresy that the Holy Spirit was the Mother of Christ. Pointing this out in *Theology*,[1] I pleaded that the original rendering *illuminatus* must stand. This has aroused the ire of Dr. Mingana, who assures me that I may take it for granted that his new rendering is "the only probable one that may safely be adopted."[2] I am afraid that I cannot accept such a dictum, while I recognise that Dr. Mingana's familiarity with Syriac is of a quite exceptional kind. The Syriac word in question is indeed equivalent to φωστήρ (*luminary*; cf. Gen. i. 14). But Christians are φωστῆρες in the world (cf. Phil. ii. 15 and also Matt. v. 14), and there is nothing in the Syriac of the Ode which requires us to translate "*the* Luminary," "*the* Son of God." That is, there is nothing limiting the reference to Christ; and to spell "Son" with a capital letter in this context is just as gratuitous as it is in Ode xxix. 11, where the reference is to υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης σου of Psalm cxv. 7. The transla-

[1] November, 1920, p. 295. [2] l.c., p. 180.

tion " although a son of man I have been named a luminary, God's son " is as literal as Dr. Mingana's, and this sentiment is quite appropriate to the neophyte after baptism, in which he is made " the child of God," as the Church Catechism says. Dr. Mingana [1] ridicules the idea that a baptized Christian could so speak of himself, but in this he is at variance with the consent of Christian antiquity.

I must add some general observations on Dr. Harris' interesting article on the Odes of Solomon and the Biblical Targums which appeared in the April EXPOSITOR. His claim is that he has proved (1) that the Odist has used written Targums on Scripture and (2) that these written Targums, or some of them, were in existence in the first century. " The written Targum of Isaiah was earlier than the Gospel of St. Luke."

To take the latter first. I submit that there is no evidence whatever for such a theory. Dr. Harris' attempt to connect the language of Luke iv. 16 with the Targum on Isaiah is, as I have shewn above, inconclusive, and he adduces no other argument. The generally accepted view is, as Dr. Harris admits, that " there were no written Targums before the fourth or fifth century." That, again, only means that there is no proof of such a thing. But before Dr. Harris can place the Odes of Solomon in the first century because, as he holds, they presuppose a written Targum, he must prove the early date of that written Targum, and this he has not done.

In the second place, I make the same criticism on the parallels which Dr. Harris has printed between the Targums and the Odes that I have had to make before on the alleged " use " of the Odes that he has found in Barnabas and Ignatius. Parallelism of language does not always prove that one author has quoted another, or that he is aware

[1] i.c. p. 180.

of the works of that other. So when Dr. Harris speaks of his "discovery that the Odist was acquainted with the Biblical Targum," an acquaintance which he claims to be "the key to the interpretation of the Odes,"[1] it is necessary to scrutinise his proofs with some care.

Ode i. opens with the words "The Lord is on my head like a crown . . . a crown of truth has been woven for me." Dr. Harris calls attention to Isaiah xxviii. 5. "In that day shall the Lord of Hosts be for a crown of glory and for a diadem of beauty," an apposite text that nobody has hitherto noticed, which illustrates the idea of the Lord being a crown. But he lays special stress on the Targum, viz., "In that time the Messiah of the Lord of Hosts shall be for a crown of joy and for a diadem of praise . . . for the word of truth, etc." I own that I am not convinced that the Targum is appreciably nearer to the Ode than is the original text of Isaiah and neither seems to provide anything more than a good literary parallel. Dr. Harris' linguistic arguments must be studied by any one who wishes to satisfy himself; to say that "there is no doubt that the opening verses of the Ode are Targumic in origin"[2] seems to me to go far beyond the evidence.

Ode vii. 18 runs, "The seers shall come (*or* go) before Him, "and they shall be seen before Him"; and in verse 26, "they shall bring (*or* offer) their songs." These are not very recondite expressions; but Dr. Harris finds a Targumistic origin for them, thus: In Isaiah i. 12, Jehovah asks, "When ye come to appear before me (*or* to see my face), who hath required" vain oblations, such as incense or ceremony? A moral conversion is what is needed. The Targum of this passage paraphrases, "When ye come to be seen before me, etc.," avoiding the anthropomorphic *to see my face*. Dr. Harris pleads that the motive of the Odist's

[1] Expositor (April), p. 276. [2] l.c., p. 279.

use of the phrase "shall be seen before Him" is the same desire to avoid anthropomorphism, and that he is actually using Isaiah i. 12, and asking the question, "If oblations are vain, what shall we offer?" I submit that there is not a hint anywhere in the Ode that the Odist is reflecting on the vanity of burnt offerings or the like; he is simply picturing the joy of united praise. I cannot find any reason to suppose that he has in mind either Isaiah i. 12 or the Targum upon it, and I shall be interested to learn if other scholars are persuaded by Dr. Harris' ingenious pleading.

But *haec hactenus*. I have said so much on this point because of Dr. Harris' too confident claim (as it seems to me) that he has discovered Targums behind the Odes. Even if he had established the fact that the Odist was a learned Targumist, he would have next to shew that these Targums were in writing by the first century, to use the argument as a means of dating the Odes. But the argument fails on both heads, and the question of the date remains where it was. I can find *no evidence* at all for a date earlier than 150 A.D., and I have studied with respectful diligence all the interesting matter that Dr. Harris has provided for his readers.

J. H. Bernard.

JOHN KER.[1]

MEN who in their day attained renown, and wrought works that merit an enduring fame, are apt to become of little esteem, and even to be forgotten, as the years go by. Against this tendency of a thriftless world it is our duty to make what effort we may. For there is no loss so great as the loss of a noble memory; and the creations of a man's mind, that have the tone and colour which are the "hues of everlastingness," ought surely to be guarded with jealous care against the creeping tide of a treacherous oblivion. Nor can there be any doubt that John Ker is one of those whose character and writings are worthy to be retained in happy and fruitful regard. To attain the first rank of achievement in any art is a glory neither slight nor transient. Indeed, it affords one of the few perfectly honourable and stainless possessions that are within the reach of human effort. Concerning those who have compassed it we cannot say that shadows they were and that shadows they pursued. They sought the supreme realities of truth in thought and beauty in expression; and the things which thus they sought they in measure accomplished. To this honourable company Ker unquestionably belongs. For, by the general consent of those who understand, he is to be numbered among the masters of the art which was the vocation of his life; and whoever opens his first book of Sermons, even though it be after many years of neglect, will be aware at once of an aroma of exquisite things,

> "Like fumes from fragrant treasures . . .
> In graven censer old."

[1] Born April 7, 1819, died October 3, 1886. Works: *Sermons* (1869); *Sermons* (second series, posthumous, 1887); *Scottish Nationality*, etc.; *Psalms in History and Biography; Letters; History of Preaching; Thoughts for Heart and Life.*

We are told that at the present time some preachers are in the habit of publishing at intervals the best of their pulpit work, in volumes which have non-committal names, wherein the sermons appear as chapters, with titles in place of texts. If this be so, it is an innocent and even meritorious device, since it deceives none except such as deserve to be deluded. Still, we may conjecture that the best sermons in all ages have appeared without disguise. Certainly Dr. Ker, when, in 1869, he issued the work which established his fame, gave it a superscription of the simplest kind: "Sermons by the Rev. John Ker." Moreover, it was announced with no blare of herald trumpets; and it was introduced as if it chiefly desired to escape attention. In the preface the author does no more than state that these sermons are published "for the sake of those whom he was accustomed to address by the living voice and whom he can at present reach but seldom through that means." "His purpose will be served if the volume helps them in the way of remembrance, and more than served if, through God's blessing, it shall prove of use beyond that circle." Yet the book thus modestly presented was received with delight by a multitude of readers. Dean Alford, for instance, declared it to be the best volume of sermons in the English language; and we are informed that at one time "no book was more frequently seen on the tables of under-graduates of Oxford and Cambridge," and that it was more widely read than the work of any other preacher save Robertson of Brighton.[1] In any case there can be no doubt as to the reach and depth of its influence. It passed through fourteen editions during its author's lifetime; and the stream of favourable reviews which began on its appearance continued to flow for many years. These notices have been

[1] These statements are made on the excellent authority of Dr. Woodside (*Soul of a Scottish Church*, p. 162).

carefully read by the present writer; and their general verdict is that, while these discourses are lacking in certain qualities which distinguish those of Robertson and Newman, they yet have distinctive excellences not found elsewhere, and are assured of a place that is their own in the higher literature of religion. Nor is this deliberate contemporary judgment likely ever to be reversed. There is nothing that so tends to the permanence of any book as the gift of penetrating, sympathetic, understanding criticism of human life; and this is a gift which is abundantly manifest in all the work of Ker. We may apply to his sermons a saying that occurs in one of them: "There are books and men that seem beyond others to have the power of aiding insight. All of us have felt it in the contact of some affinity of nature which makes them our best helpers; the kindred clay upon the eyes by which the great Enlightener removes our blindness."

I.

I wonder how many of those who have received stimulus and comfort from Ker's first volume have known what a gallant story lay behind it. John Ker was a Borderer, born at the Beild Inn, some distance from Peebles; and though he was but six years of age when his family removed to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, he remained always a Borderer in sentiment, tradition and character. His mother, a woman of noble qualities, came of the vigorous Seceder stock in southern Scotland which gave Carlyle to literature and John Cairns to sacred learning. Like Carlyle and Cairns, also, he was of the race that tends the soil, for his father was a farmer; and he inherited the strong individuality, the practical shrewdness, the reserve of mental power, which distinguish his class and type. Another precious element in his heritage was the strain of romance,

of imagination, of picturesque memories, which belongs to the legend-haunted region of the Tweed. His was, further, the hardy courage of the Borderman ; for never did clansman or raider of old display a more undaunted soul than did John Ker in his cheerful lifelong fight with adverse circumstance. In his youth he had to struggle with straitened means, for his family was involved in the misfortunes that befell Scottish agriculture in his time ; moreover, he was called to contend with the disabilities of a manifestly frail physique. In these his earlier battles he bore himself with characteristic tenacity and with that air of humorous, bright *esprit* which was always his distinction. This spirit won success for him at school and college ; this chivalry of temper was mingled with the strong conviction which led him to enter the service, not of his father's Church, the Establishment, but of his mother's, the Secession. It was displayed also in the fearlessness with which during his early ministry at Alnwick he tended his people throughout a deadly epidemic of Asiatic cholera : by this he gained a sacred place in many hearts, and crowned with a peculiar honour his spreading fame as a winning orator and a great evangelist of Christ.

His coming to Glasgow in 1851 marked the beginning of a new stage in the warfare of his life. But the spirit of the soldier remained unaltered, and he won fresh victories ; some of them apparent and manifest to the world, some belonging to that hidden sphere of mind and soul wherein the greatest triumphs are often won in the hours of outward and material defeat. The population of Glasgow has, in all periods, been imbued with astonishing vitality, displaying itself in activities tireless and manifold ; and it has always demanded of its notable servants, whether in the municipal or the religious sphere, energies like unto its own. Ker, unfortunately for his physical welfare, had shining gifts

as a platform speaker; and Glasgow was quick to discover this. The result was an ever-increasing demand upon his time and strength. It was quite customary for him to speak in public every night in the week, and he is said sometimes to have addressed as many as five meetings in one evening. Besides all this, he sustained the toil involved in the building up and supervision of a great congregation; and he preached three times every Sunday, all his sermons being committed to memory and delivered without notes.

The success of this Glasgow ministry was both immediate and enduring. Though it was exercised, in full measure, for little more than six years, the impression of it has never been wholly effaced. The name of John Ker is still a household word in many families, handed down from fathers to children as that of a peerless teacher and tender shepherd of souls. A venerable lady, the mother of one who is now an eminent clergyman in Edinburgh, told the present writer of a visit paid by Dr. Ker, when she was young, to her sister, who was then drawing near to death. One petition in his prayer by the sick-bed this lady had remembered through all the intervening years: "May her soul rest as quietly on the love of her Saviour as her frame now rests upon this bed." She remembered also the terms in which he conveyed to her that day the news that her sister would not recover. "She is better to-day, is she not?" was her question. "My dear," he answered with indescribable gentleness, "your sister will soon be quite, quite well." This is a simple story, but it indicates the temper of a great pastorate. In speaking of this part of a minister's work, Dr. Ker once observed: "A man should always go up to the mark he has been aiming at to see whether he has hit it or no." This casual saying suggests the idealism of his own service, but it does not reveal the qualities which he displayed in the discharge of it; the informed sympathy,

the individual care, the insight and the courage. The record of these things is in the souls of men.

As, then, we consider the whole story of this period in Ker's life we see that he was endeavouring to discharge labours that would have taxed the powers of a Gladstone or a Beecher. An eager spirit was driving a feeble frame to tasks beyond its reach. It was a heroic effort, but it could not last. He was drawing all the while upon the capital sum of strength ; and there came an hour, in the year 1858, when the capital was spent. Then there followed a space of dreary weakness ; months of ceaseless suffering ; one of those periods in which the whole of life is wrapped in a mist of exhaustion, when that which, for the normal man, is the world of reality has become but a dream, and the only actual things are pain and feebleness and a sense of measureless fatigue.

This acute phase of Dr. Ker's illness lasted a weary time ; but at length he began to climb the long ascent of a convalescence that had many a downward slope and many a heavy fall. No experience is more testing than this to the qualities that make a man, or to the faith that makes the great believer. But neither trust nor courage failed ; nor, be it said, did he lack the help that is afforded by tender human service. Especially was he indebted to his sister, than whom no man ever had a more devoted friend. To this lady, afterwards Mrs. Nairn, we may apply the tribute paid by Ker himself to the wife of Dr. Guthrie . " Without her he might have soared as high, but he could not have kept so long on the wing." To this it is right that we should add our recognition of the steadfast sympathy which he received from those to whom he ministered. When, after the space of four years, it became evident that he would never be able again for full pastoral responsibility, he resolved to resign his charge entirely, lest he should become in any

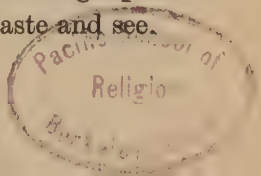
way a burden ; but to this his people opposed a resistance so impassioned and convincing that he was constrained to surrender his purpose ; and the issue was that he remained till his death senior minister of Sidney Place Church. This is a matter worthy of record as an illustration of the attachment which Dr. Ker inspired ; and the letters which at this time he exchanged with his congregation are according to the worthiest traditions of Christian honour. In reading them one is conscious of being in the presence of fine loyalties and emotions ; of high, generous and lovely things.

As the years went by, the tide of returning strength slowly flooded in. Travelling in Germany, France, Spain, Italy, he renewed his reserves of physical power, while greatly increasing his store of learning in language, literature, history, art and the knowledge of mankind. Gradually he came to preach more and more frequently and with constantly growing force and beauty. Taking charge from time to time of Continental churches, and ministering to his own people as he was able; resuming thus step by step his old activities ; he began to be again a familiar and honoured figure in the public life of his Church and city. It is not to be supposed, however, that he completely recovered the vigour of his prime. He never became strong enough for any considerable effort. He regained a degree of energy, as of a somewhat wearied afternoon, but never that of "glad confident morning again." His marvellous memory retained all its early power, his gifts of thought and language kept increasing to the end ; he preserved and developed that conversational gift, of which Dr. MacGregor of St. Cuthbert's Parish remarked that he had known many great talkers, but never one like John Ker ; his sense of humour, also, defying all trials and surviving all pain, shone as brightly in the letters of his last days as in those of his youth. Nevertheless, sustained labour in literary

composition always produced great bodily fatigue; and such work, continued beyond a certain point, was visited by heavy penalties. Such was the manner of his life, beset with limitations, until that dark day for his Church when, after a brief but dreadful struggle for breath, he fell into unconsciousness, and in a few minutes entered the gates of Peace.

In all this there is much to evoke our respect and the admiration which we accord to the heroic; but the precise effect of Ker's infirmities upon the quality of his service is not easily appraised. Had he retained the vigour of his early ministry he would have been a more dominant power in the pulpit and in the ecclesiastical world; he might also have written greater books in point of mass and force. But, without the leisure and the detachment secured by his disability, and without the sympathy and insight learned through pain, who shall say that the fabric of his work would have been as delicate, the artistry as fine, the colouring as true and disciplined, or that he would have garnered so abundantly "the harvest of a quiet eye"?

However this may be, the *Sermons* of 1869 illustrate all the qualities we have mentioned. This volume remains his greatest book; and in it we must find the secret and the embodiment of his pulpit power and of his permanent place among the masters of sacred eloquence. As to his precise position among these masters, no opinion need be offered. It is not proposed here to compare Ker with other preachers, whether to their detriment or to his; for the habit of depreciatory comparison is surely a grave intellectual vice. But, whatever the relative value of his work may be, it is certainly unique in the peculiar proportion and combination of its qualities; it has a distinctive flavour and perfume as of some delicate vintage, the harvest of one single place and year. Whoever doubts this, let him taste and see.



It is not possible to attempt in this article any complete analysis of Ker's message and work. It must suffice to note some features of his *style*, which after all is the complete illustration of his varied gift. His chief distinction is not his power as a thinker, though that is much ; it is not his theological learning, though that is evident. It is his imagination. In virtue of that he understood the hearts of men, by the power of it he was able to conceive truth vividly, and thus to present it with beauty ; and to it he owed his amazing gift of lucid, fitly coloured, changeful and gracious speech. The written style of a preacher is, in its broad lines, generally conditioned by the fashion of his spoken address. Thus, the stately sweeping periods of John Caird were suited to the uses of his voice ; that magnificent organ whose rich and manifold music follows us down the years. And, in like manner, the diction of Ker was admirably attuned to the character of his delivery, which was clear, pleasing, melodious and of varied modulation. His sermons were not read, but spoken, and that with an air of the utmost ease and spontaneity. He was sparing of gesture ; but his rugged face was illumined as he spoke by an inward brightness, as is a graven vessel of translucent glass when a lamp is lighted within. There was passion in his discourse, but it was not of the kind that resembles a torrent of fire. Rather was it like a warm radiance shining through the windows of a home where strong conviction and quiet faith dwell at peace with understanding and hope and acquaintance with grief. He did not seek to take the mind of an audience by violence or to carry it away on an impetuous tide of words. His way was rather to win his hearers, taking them captive unawares, showing them the beauty of the gospel and the meaning of their lives, leading them beside the still waters, restoring the soul.

His literary style, as already said, corresponds to the

method of his oratory. His periods are generally short, his paragraphs never cumbrous or such as might depend for their effect on the roll and surge of a powerful voice. He avoids with care all rhetoric, which he held to be " always the sign of decay " ; his language is rich in colour, but the tones are constantly subdued. Imagination is governed by the restraint of a judgment that is informed by study of the best in literature. Yet he never seems aware of any need to husband his resources ; image succeeds image in bright and swift succession. There is constant surprise for the reader in a phrase of unexpected beauty, like his saying that the prophets in foretelling Christ often " disappeared in their theme like the lark in the sunlight which it sings." While there are never any purple patches, there are many places where symbol and fancy bloom like flowers. Nothing, indeed, is more characteristic than his habit of translating all thought into pictorial forms. Thus, of the nature of Christ he says : " It was like the sea which is so mighty to shake the earth, yet holds the most delicate flowers with all their filaments unbroken in its bosom." Again, he thus expresses the idea that the future life will see the reconciliation of faith and knowledge : " A glorious temple where study and adoration walk side by side, and angels who know clasp hands with angels who burn." Once more, the persistence of opportunity, so long as life endures, is enforced in a quaint figure : " To be suffered to remain on God's footstool is to be within reach of the steps of His throne." Of a more sombre type is the saying that, without faith in the Father of Jesus Christ, " the thousand eyes of the night would glitter pitilessly on our misery, and its fixed cycles would be coiled round us like chains of despair." But there is hopeful philosophy in the assurance, " God's broken tables are always re-written, and when the stone records perish they pass within into spirit and life." A

fine example of his manner is the passage wherein he sets forth the spiritual view of the world : " The forms of beauty and grandeur which matter puts on are only the clothing furnished by mind. The Alps and Andes are but millions of atoms till thought combines them and stamps on them the conception of the everlasting hills. Niagara is a gush of water-drops till the soul puts into it that sweep of resistless power which the beholder feels. The ocean, wave behind wave, is only great when the spirit has breathed into it the idea of immensity."

These sayings serve to illustrate in part the style of this preacher, but to estimate it aright we must have in mind qualities of his discourses which cannot be exhibited by quotation ; their admitted strength of mental grasp, their dialectical power and piercing analysis, their supreme gift of commending to mind and heart the sovereign religious ideas of God, Immortality, Incarnation, and Redemption in Jesus Christ.

The writings of Ker, other than sermons, afford an inviting field of reference, but it must suffice to note two examples of his manner. The first of these illustrates his faculty of imaginative suggestion : " There are inward impulses which in God's hand are in the place of eyes, and there is a breath of freedom on the face which tells the way from prison houses in the dark." The second shows his descriptive art : " Halfway up the hill behind the house lies a tarn or mountain loch, encircled by a rocky wall that shoots high above it many hundred feet, a kind of Cyclops' eye glaring up under terrific brows, a weird and fearful spot at nightfall."

II.

In the formal aspect of his theology Dr. Ker adhered to the main lines of contemporary Evangelicalism. His sympathies, as to all the Scottish heresy trials of his century,

were with the conservative side. He disliked very much, for instance, the opinions of Robertson Smith ; and he did not rebuke the curious passion for doctrinal uniformity which possessed the United Presbyterian Church towards the close of the '70's. Indeed, there are letters of his, regarding the Macrae and Ferguson cases, which reveal the stern and formidable side of his complex character. Especially remarkable was the severity of his attitude towards Fergus Ferguson ; for that alleged heretic had been a member of his own congregation in Glasgow and was a warm personal friend. Dr. Ferguson was, indeed, one of the most nobly endowed intellects and one of the most gracious, charming and strong personalities then possessed by the Scottish Church. Alas for the weary divisions which in this confused world so often separate fine, honourable and kindred souls !

It is necessary to make these statements, and they are all true. But they would cease to be true if they were advanced or accepted in an unsympathetic spirit. Facts are no longer realities if they are separated from their atmosphere ; and the atmosphere of Ker's theology was catholic and humane ; his mental attitude as a whole generous and tolerant. It is necessary always to remember that his ruling interests were not dogmatic but literary, historical and broadly religious. His roots were deep in their native soil of Scottish tradition ; and that tradition was not speculative, nor friendly to individual negations. It was romantic ; it was fraught with loyalty to picturesque causes, to kirks and clans and dynasties. It was possessed, too, with love of a faith ordered in all things and sure. Moreover, Scottish piety, of the classical type, was able to derive nourishment from very unpromising food, and to draw living water from rocks uncommonly hard. No one can ever comprehend the truth of this matter unless he considers the wild and

stirring story of the nation; the mystical strain in Celtic blood; the tenderness of Northern hearts; the hills of mist and sunshine; the sounding lochs and stormy shores. Of all this John Ker was a part. We may say that a more complete representative of the national religious genius never lived; and in the due remembrance of this is to be found the key to that ecclesiastical conservatism and strong Presbyterian conviction which distinguished his whole career.

But when all this has been said we are still far from an adequate account of this manifold mind and character. Whilst, for example, we note his intense patriotism, we must yet describe him as a cosmopolitan; for by his constant travels he came to be as familiar, almost, with the legendary lore of the Rhine, of Brittany, of Lombardy, as with that of the storied Scottish borders. And this mingling of loyalty to his own land and people with wide interest in foreign countries and races found a parallel in his ecclesiastical and religious outlook. No one, for instance, could suspect him of sympathy with Unitarianism; yet he tells us that he once wandered into a Unitarian church in England, and was much pleased with the service. "I think," he adds, "that there is a stream of fresh spiritual influence coming through some of these churches from James Martineau." Again, he did not approve the theology of Macleod Campbell, but nevertheless he was among the group of eminent men which met to do honour to Campbell on his departure from Glasgow in 1868. Other instances of his liberality may easily be found. In 1871 he wrote that he would not care to promote church union "at the cost of division in the Free Church." Also, in one of his letters he says: "I should like to see a short clear symbol, guarding the *life* of Christianity but leaving freedom in all else." His correspondence shows, also, that he combined a deter-

mined Protestantism with a full recognition of the precious things in Roman thought and devotion. Finally, he was a pronounced Voluntary, desiring the disestablishment of all State Churches; and in this he represented an element in the religious history of his country which was baptized, and has been often renewed, in the sacred waters of sacrifice. Yet the candour of the scholar led him to recognise future possibilities which he could not approve. "The course of events will probably settle ere very long whether this (Union) is to be on the old lines of national establishment or on the principle enunciated by Cargill for posterity, 'that they may begin where we end.' . . . But such a Union is desirable."[1] It appears, therefore, that we cannot give an account of Dr. Ker by simply calling him "a Conservative" or "a Calvinist," or the like. It is foolish, indeed, to suppose that any man of large nature can be briefly comprehended in one facile formula. This is especially true in the case of a thinker of Ker's historical temper and imaginative power. The same qualities which inspire such an one with loyalty to his own Church and Creed reveal to him the heart of good in all the varied forms of faith, which are rooted in the past and shelter still, as with spreading boughs, the fevered lives of men.

III.

In the year 1876 Dr. Ker was appointed to the new Chair of Practical Training in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh. Some time before this the Nairns had taken up their residence at the Hermitage, Murrayfield. And with them he had his home till the end of his life. The aspect of this abode was very pleasant, and its outward seeming corresponded to the inner atmosphere with which it was imbued. If it had been possible to print in full some of

[1] "*Scottish Nationality*," p. 15.

Dr. Ker's letters to members of this household one would have been able to make clear to the reader the happy surroundings of his later days, and especially to show his gift of playful, whimsical humour. In his published *Letters* there do appear some glimpses of this gift. Thus, describing his relations with some narrow religionists, he says: "I can see good in them, but I cannot see eye to eye; and they insist on that, making the rule *their* eye." Again, after describing a scene of battle among the birds one snowy day for the crumbs that were scattered outside his window, he adds: "The thrushes which sing most lovingly in summer are the worst tyrants, so that I am losing faith in concerts as a civilising medium."

When first elected to his chair, he did not feel himself able to undertake more than four hours' teaching each week; and even that amount of labour he could promise only in a tentative way. It was understood that he should give the matter a trial for a term of years, and that his continuance in office thereafter should depend upon his strength and upon the measure in which he was satisfied with his power to teach. He also stipulated that he was not to be called "Professor," and was to receive only half of the salary proposed. These terms were characteristic of the man; and they were accepted by the Church; which would, indeed, have agreed to anything he had cared to ask. Before his period of self-imposed probation was ended, however, he was, by the blessing of God, able as a rule to lecture twice a day and to perform all the duties which fall to a Professor. He had strength, also, to conduct public worship occasionally; and, as often as he preached, he revealed all his ancient power to capture and to hold the great audiences which crowded to hear his words. To this period belong, too, his labours in the Courts, and on the Committees, of his Church; and he intervened sometimes in public

affairs, advocating, for instance, a measure of Land Reform which has now been mainly realised. The hardest trial of his closing years, apart from personal bereavements, was the appearance of Gladstone's proposals as to Irish Home Rule; for these aroused his passionate hostility. There is abundant evidence of this in his private letters; and it is attested by Miss Nairn in a record of her uncle's closing days which she wrote at the time of his death. This record also contains an interesting example of Dr. Ker's historical foresight: "Uncle John said to me that he anticipated a general European war, and that it would be the most dreadful thing I should ever see."

Concerning his professorial work, there is no space to write in any adequate fashion; and silence is better, on such a theme, than a bare and hurried statement. His habit was to write his lectures and commit them entirely to memory; and his prelections to his class had much of the finish and grace of form which we find in his sermons. His book on the *History of Preaching* illustrates the wealth of learning which he brought to his task as a teacher; a learning of that rare type which means direct acquaintance with originals. But of much that was best in his academic work no memorial remains, nor could any printed page convey the impression of the spoken words; an impression as of lofty, flexible conversation, rising sometimes to the level of literature. He talked, for the most part, easily and quietly; leaning back in his chair, one hand thrust often into his pocket, his eyes but rarely fixed upon his students. No need had he to hold their attention or secure their orderliness by watchful scrutiny or magisterial devices. They listened, as his congregation did, because it was good for them to listen, and because, indeed, they were not able to do otherwise.

The personal affection of his students for their teacher

was very strong, was felt by every type of man, and was touched with the tenderness evoked by his physical frailty, as well as with the reverence due to his character. For instance, some of the abler men, in one particular year, caused their Professor much anxiety by reason of their advanced theological speculations ; nor did he fail to reveal to them the polemical vigour of his mind. Yet these very men had the chief part in composing a memorable address which was at this time presented to Dr. Ker by his students ; a document couched in terms of singular understanding, gratitude and veneration. Another example of the attachment of his pupils is referred to by himself in his correspondence. He had been ill ; and returned to his work in a state of all too apparent weakness and fatigue. On his entrance to the class-room the students made no demonstration, uttered no words, sounded no applause ; but they rose up in a body and remained silently standing until he had taken his place. This was a welcome which touched and gratified him in a marked degree, so significant was it of fine sympathy and true allegiance.

The limits necessarily assigned do not permit us to quote from manuscript lectures that lie at hand, or further to illustrate other aspects of a great teacher's varied, brave and generous service. Yet it is with regret that one lays down the pen : having accomplished, to a memory so revered, a tribute so small. In one of his letters there occurs a sentence referring to the close of a happy experience, that expresses with some fitness the emotion with which we conclude the study of his own life and work : " After the last stroke of a pleasant hour there is a vibration in the air ; and it is lingering while I write." But the influence exerted by John Ker on the religious thought and purpose of his country, and of his friends, is far other than that of a gracious hour which pleases, and is gone. Many and changeful years

have passed since his earthly task was done, yet he is still a familiar personality, "named gently as the household name of one whom God hath taken." He wove into the fabric of his Church's life a thread of beauty which has not been torn away, nor ever lost its hue. And the light of his character and teaching, setting suddenly like a southern sun, with no waning of its power, has left behind a shining in the sky, "an after-glow, unfaded yet," of courage, faith and hope.

J. H. LECKIE.

WHAT WAS THE JOY OF JESUS?

THE emotion of delight is rarely noted by the writers of the Gospels, as they describe the personality of Jesus. Twice only is it specially mentioned. And then there is a third allusion, by a later writer in the New Testament.

I.

When the seventy disciples rejoined Him at some unknown *rendez-vous*, after their mission, they came back full of enthusiasm about the results they had achieved. According to Luke, who alone preserves the tradition (x. 17 f.), *the seventy came back with joy* (μετὰ χαρᾶς), *saying*, "*Lord, the very dæmons obey us in your name.*" Jesus agrees. *Only*, he adds,

do not rejoice because the spirits obey you:
rejoice because your names are enrolled in heaven.

He thrilled with joy at that hour in the holy Spirit (ἠγαλλιάσατο), *saying*, "*I praise thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, for concealing this* (ταῦτα) *from the wise and learned and revealing it to the simple-minded; yea, Father, I praise thee that such was thy chosen purpose.*" This latter saying is recorded also by Matthew. But the reference to joy is Lucan. It is a sacred rapture or ecstasy.

Here the joy of Jesus is not connected with the joy of the disciples. What thrills Him with delight is the revelation of God to simple-minded folk, such as those to whom the seventy had been sent. The success of their mission stirred Him to rejoice that the divine truths [1] were no longer reserved for an esoteric, cultured circle, but open to the human soul. Whereas the delight of the disciples is in their success during this mission, and He lifts their mind to a higher level of joy; they are to be glad, not simply in their power over demons, but rather in their membership of the divine kingdom which is set up, once the evil power is overthrown. The joy of Jesus is therefore a personal emotion. The joy of the disciples is also peculiar to their own position; it is developed by Jesus, who shows them that the deepest source of their joy lies in God's gracious relation to them, not in what they can do for God but in what God does for them. Yet even this higher joy is not identified with the joy of Jesus.

The instruction of Jesus about their joy is intelligible in the light of His word in Matthew vii. 21–23. To exorcise evil spirits in the name of Jesus is not an infallible proof of membership in His kingdom; that depends upon personal character, and it is possible that a man may be lower than his work. Striking and successful powers may be possessed by a Christian, and yet he may not possess the saving Christian spirit. When Jesus tells them that they are to rejoice in their relation to God rather than in their achievements for God, it does not imply, of course, any selfish emphasis, as if their personal salvation were to be considered of more importance than the service they could render to their fellow-men. What is in His mind, as He watches their excited, flushed faces, and listens to their

[1] The *ταῦτα* cannot be confined to the fact that the disciples were enrolled in the heavenly register.

glowing account of the success which had attended the mission, is the danger of their becoming self-important. "Rejoice not so much in possessing remarkable spiritual gifts as in being spiritual *men*." [1]

The mission on which they had been engaged stirs Jesus not only to reflection, but to rapture. He rejoices in the method of God's revelation, in its free and accessible character. No doubt, this forms the basis of the joy which the disciples are exhorted to find, for it is to the free grace of God that they owe their election. But they are to rejoice in the result rather than in the method; Jesus rejoices in the method and in the result which it produces. It is plain that He had been following their mission with absorbed interest. They had been absent from Him in body, working at a distance; yet He had eagerly thought of them. *I watched Satan fall from heaven as a flash of lightning*, He tells them; "I saw how successful your work was, I had a vision of its effectiveness which even you could not understand." But this does not justify us in finding any sense of happy relief in His words. Dr. Henry Latham indeed suggests that "our Lord's joy is that of one delivered from a great anxiety," [2] as if He had felt that the disciples were "exposed to the possibility of failure." Yet it is not said that He uttered these words with joy. His joy begins when He proceeds to a further aspect of the general mission. It is rather the high emotion of delight in God's chosen purpose and method which thrills Him. The knowledge of God is no longer to be restricted to a coterie of specially educated persons; it is to be, as it always is in reality, a direct intuition, which simply requires the unsophisticated experience of human life. Jesus rejoices at seeing this stream of divine revelation break

[1] A. B. Bruce, *Expositor's Greek Testament*, i. p. 541.
[2] *Pastor Pastorum*, p. 302.

through the bogs and sands of rabbinical erudition. It is making its appeal, as the Father meant, to *the simple-minded*, not to a clever, specially trained minority. The fresh evidence of this, furnished by the recent mission, thrills Him with delight; it enables Him to verify God's method and to rejoice that it works, to be thankful that religious faith is spontaneous and direct, instead of being the product of "the intellectuals" or savants. What perplexes and repels such clever persons by its sheer simplicity is what attracts the humble-minded who make no pretensions to theological learning or to acquaintance with the *minutiæ* of the rabbinic tradition. *Thou hast revealed this*—the truth of the Gospel, the revelation of Thine own Fatherhood—*to the simple-minded;* they know it is no abstruse revelation which lies at the heart of the Gospel, but a truth which can be understood by plain people with only the learning that human life supplies. In other words, what Jesus had the joy of experiencing for Himself, He had the joy of imparting to others, the inspiring sense of religion as a first-hand, human relationship, which required no round-about, elaborate instruction, but simply trust and confidence in a fatherly God.

II.

In the Fourth Gospel, the joy of Jesus is mentioned by Himself on the eve of His death. After the allegory of the vine and the branches (xv. 1–8), He adds: *as the Father has loved me, so I have loved you; remain within My love. If you keep my commands you will remain within my love, just as I have kept my Father's commands and remain within his love* (9–10). Then He proceeds: *I have told you this* (ταῦτα λελάληκα ὑμῖν), *that my joy may be within you and your joy complete. This is my command: you are to*

love one another as I have loved you (11–12), with a love ready for utter self-sacrifice.

One of the earliest interpretations of the saying about joy was that of Augustine, who took it to mean the delight that Jesus had in His disciples. "Quid est gaudium Christi in nobis, nisi quod dignatur gaudere de nobis? Et quid est gaudium nostrum quod dicit implendum nisi eius habere consortium?" [1] This, it may be admitted, would yield quite a good sense: "that My delight may be in you." But ἡ χαρὰ ἡ ἐμή must be taken like *my peace;* it denotes "The joy I experience," and goes with ᾖ not with ἐν ὑμῖν. The meaning is not "that I may have joy in you" or "that my joy in you may live," but "that the joy of my heart may be yours also," passing into your experience. The joy Jesus inspires is the joy He experiences, the joy of possessing the divine love that rests upon a full and free obedience. The only thing to which He can compare His love for them is the Father's love for Himself; in both cases it is a love which implies whole-hearted obedience and delightful service. In His own experience Jesus knows the joy that fills the loyal heart, and His aim is to bring the disciples to a level on which they will be open to this stream of conscious moral delight. Then He goes on to specify the sphere of this obedience, in love one to another as prompted by His love to them. The fuller their obedience to this law of brotherly love, the deeper will be their religious joy. For joy, as He knew it, was the bloom upon the fruit of duty.

One thought of the passage is that this joy of Jesus is communicable; it is to be caught from Him by those who seek to share His spirit of dutiful, self-sacrificing love. The divine happiness of forgetting oneself in the service of others is meant to be a human experience. The soul

[1] *In Joannis Evangelium Tractatus*, lxxxiii.

has capacities for joy. But no one knows their depth till he enters into this unreserved loyalty to God, shown in brotherly love. Joy means life at its full power, moving freely and brightly along the lines of the best available experience. Such is the joy that Jesus hopes to see fulfilled in His disciples, as He felt it complete in Himself, the joy of absorption in a great cause that lifted the soul above anything like regret or foreboding. It is invariably the expression and sign of vitality. Obedience is no longer a drudgery or a sacrifice; the mind is above even the thought of "sacrifice." The exalted sense of response to the divine impulse carries life forward cheerfully, not stoically. And Jesus proposes this joy to His disciples, not so much as a reward but as a proof that their experience was maturing into strength. For, as Dora Greenwell observes, "much as pain has to teach us, it has but a few things to show us, while the revelations of joy are infinite. No one perhaps has ever been strong for the Lord without having experienced the deep baptism of spiritual gladness, making the soul one with God."

The inward elements of His joy are:—

(*a*) Moral activity. The experience of joy flows from obedience to an active command, not from retiring into a corner and brooding over one's personal feelings. This is explicit in the context. Professor Legouis, speaking of the early and rather conventional melancholy which marks Wordsworth's early verse, explains it thus: the poet, he says, "is a prey to vague depression because he is without any occupation which gives him pleasure; without an aim, without enthusiasm, moral or intellectual No cause, no principle, has hitherto won his devotion." Jesus speaks of joy, and at once speaks about the practical obligation of mutual love. It is devotion to the demands of fellowship that brings us the real joy of the religious

life. *My joy* and *your joy* are alike in that, He declares. "Joy," says Donne in one of his sermons, "is peace for having done that which we ought to have done. To have something to doe, to doe it, and then to rejoice in having done it, to embrace a calling, to perform the duties of that calling, to joy and rest in the peaceful testimony of having done so; this is Christianly done, Christ did it." And there is still more in it than that. For the joy of which Jesus speaks is not simply the outcome of loyalty to the highest call of life, but a grateful delight in what God makes of us by drawing out our powers and honouring us with His claims.

(*b*) Independence of outward surroundings. Life at this moment seemed to the disciples uncertain enough; unsettlement and detachment from familiar conditions awaited them in the near future. It was a steadying truth, this reminder that the real delight of life lies in our inner relations to one another, not in any fixed external setting. "It is after all," said Dean Stanley, "a great happiness that our home and our paradise are not fixed to any one locality, but follow in the train of our occupations, and duties, wherever they may lead us." Many of the minor and quite real elements of happiness are bound up with local conditions. It is idle to depreciate these factors in our felicity. But these may change and pass, without altering or affecting the central source of joy in brotherly love. So long as we are in touch with our fellow-creatures, Jesus teaches, there are materials for joy of the truest kind.

(*c*) Again, the seriousness with which He lays down the command and the emphatic warning which He soon gives about the troubles in which it may involve the loyal disciples, suggests that this joy is based upon a steady and even heroic service. It is not for the light-hearted and the easy-going. "Every joy that life gives must be earned

ere it is secured," Charlotte Brontë writes; and then she adds, "At eighteen we are not aware of this." The disciples were hardly aware of it yet. They feared that this happiness was to be wrecked by the departure of Jesus; their joy in His company seemed a precarious thing in their world of change and disaster. But Jesus shows them that what makes joy precarious is not outward, it is inward. Self-indulgence and indifference are the real perils to the highest joy of life. *To remain within His love*, He says, that is the hope and test for them; to carry out His orders, to rule life by His injunctions about brotherly love, this is the preparation and qualification for His joy. There are no short cuts to it, through ecstasy.

III.

The third allusion to the joy of Jesus is by a writer who had access to special knowledge of His life, and who had special powers of insight and sympathy when he dealt with the human vocation of Jesus. The anonymous author of the epistle to the Hebrews summons his readers to rally their faith by keeping their eyes fixed *upon Jesus, who, in order to reach his own appointed joy* (*ἀντὶ τῆς προκειμένης αὐτῷ χαρᾶς*), *steadily endured the cross, thinking nothing of its shame, and is now seated at the right hand of the throne of God*. The phrase about joy here is not unambiguous. It has been proposed to take it as an allusion to what Jesus sacrificed; that is, to render *ἀντί* by "instead of." The thought in this case would be parallel to that of xi. 25–26, where Moses prefers hardship for the sake of God and God's people to the easy-going life which might have been his at the Egyptian court. If so, what Jesus gave up would be either His pre-existent life of privilege, as Paul had argued in Philippians ii. 6–11, or the opportunity of a life on earth which was free from pain and agony.

But προκειμένης is against any such line of interpretation; it must mean here, as in the preceding verse, "appointed," "set in front of." And ἀντί here as almost in verse 15 (Ἠσαυ . . . ἀντὶ βρώσεως μιᾶς ἀπέδετο τὰ πρωτοτόκια ἑαυτοῦ) refers to the object which it is desired to reach, not to something parted with. The most probable meaning, therefore, in the light of the context is that given above; Jesus sought above all things the unselfish[1] joy of reaching God's right hand and thus completing His work for ever; He did not shrink from the humiliation and shame which were the only way to attain that supreme authority by means of which God's interests in human life were to be furthered and completed. The joy is the joy He was to possess beyond death, as the outcome of His earthly agony and endurance. What the author is at pains to prove is that Jesus was sustained in His discipline of shame and suffering by this object and reward set before Him, and consequently that He is an inspiration to all who are confronted with hardship in the vocation of faith. The motif of his previous panegyric upon the heroes and heroines of the faith is that in every case faith encountered present trials bravely for the sake of something better in prospect. So here. Even Jesus, and especially Jesus, who has shown us from first to last what faith is, acted and persevered in the confidence that all His trying experience on earth would lead to something glorious. This it was that enabled Him to stand the agony leading up to the crucifixion. He *thought nothing of* the shame[2] of the cross; we might

[1] "*The joy* is that which He now reaps in sitting at the right hand of the throne of God; it is gathered here into a point, but may be supposed to branch out into all the results flowing from this, connected with man's salvation and God's good pleasure, which must also have filled His mind by anticipation while on earth, and now fill it in heaven" (A. B. Davidson).

[2] Musonius (ed. Hense, x.) defines ὕβρις or αἰσχύνη thus: οἷον λοιδορηθῆναι ἢ ἐμπτυσθῆναι, ὧν τὸ χαλεπώτατον πληγαί. To Jesus, however, the cross had

say, He bore it with a sublime indifference, not because He did not feel it, but because, in His exaltation of spirit, He felt something greater—the anticipation of His final joy, the consummation of the work to which He had been called. It us one thing to be sensitive to disgrace and apparent defeat, to contemptuous disparagement of one's aims and to a cruel crushing of one's hopes on earth. It is another thing to let such circumstances of affront cling to one's mind so that the sense of them makes one hesitate or draw back. Jesus was sensitive to pain and sorrow of this kind as well as of any other. He was wounded by treachery and ingratitude and contempt. But He held to His course, in spite of all such rebuffs. And the secret of His tenacity lay in His strong anticipation of the higher, enduring joy which awaited Him at the end of the dark passage.

JAMES MOFFATT.

associations of ignominy which were keener than any physical pain or insult.

[1] "He would die to know the blessedness of restoring to us our life. Only the most sublime self-sacrifice could account such a result a recompense; and that recompense He did not refuse to keep constantly in view" (R. A. Vaughan: *Hours with the Mystics*, ii. p. 284).

THE SPIRIT OF GOD, AND THE NEW TESTAMENT EXPERIENCE.[1]

(1) *The Tides of the Spirit.*

One thing the tragedy of these great and terrible years has done for us ; it has freed us from the thraldom of a false view of progress. Our complacent picture of a gradual and unbroken amelioration of society is shattered. We cannot, indeed, surrender our faith in a holy Purpose working itself out through history to its predestined goal. But it is now evident that evil and good alike move towards climaxes and periodically crash together in vast and blinding catastrophes. Out of these, new world-orders emerge. In short, the march of mankind seems to proceed upward along a spiral stairway, round which we swing from light to dark, from dark to light.

There are times and seasons of moral and spiritual ebb and flow in the story of the spirit of man. Times of long slumber separate the times of awaking. There is, in history, a Divine wisdom and economy of recipient waiting. Some ages must lie fallow that others may richly yield. When the surface life of the soul becomes crusted over by traditionalism, false thinking, bad government, the fires of the Divine Spirit seethe underground, storing up their energies against the day of eruption.

Sometimes the advent of the liberating thought is achieved through the dim groping of the group-soul. But individuals are the true vocal concentration-points within the life of the Spirit in which we live and move and have our being ; and so it is more natural that the age or society which has grown sensitive to the deeper harmonies of Reality should

[1] Inaugural Lecture delivered in Aberdeen United Free Church College on Oct. 14th, 1920.

express itself through individual listeners, who have in finer balance these spiritual faculties which are common to mankind. It is through these sometimes very lonely men, who feel and see the same Spirit which is stirring within their own souls, moving upon the face of the waters of the world, who keep the memory of its inarticulate cries, "half-guessed and gone again," and who ponder them in their hearts, that this Divine Life at last breaks into soaring utterance, bringing out of three sounds, "not a fourth sound but a star." And these inspired voices echo and re-echo through the sensitive society wherein they arise, still further heightening and enhancing its sensitiveness, and awakening answering voices there. They are the God-sent answerers of the questionings of the day, the knights of the Spirit, who smite with the sword of light against the opposing darkness, and clear the path for progress.

The proof of this is apparent in history. Always the times of national and world-upheaval have coincided more or less with the times when the world's heart has been stirred into noblest utterance. "The glory that was Greece" gleams with most radiant lustre out of one brief century—the same century which compasses the Ionic Revolt, and the Persian Wars, and which saw the supremacy of Athens. There, in the age of Pericles, are set the names of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes; Herodotus and Thucydides; Plato and Aristotle. "The grandeur which was Rome,"—the later days of the Republic,—glitter with the names of Cæsar, Sallust, Cicero, Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Livy—a galaxy close-packed into forty years of time. Take an equally short space of time out of the heart of the European Renaissance, and you will find it scintillating with the names of Machiavelli, Columbus; Paracelsus, Copernicus; Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Michael Angelo; Luther, Calvin, John Knox, Erasmus; Loyola, Francis

Xavier, Santa Teresa. One does not need to repeat the names of "the spacious days of great Elizabeth" to prove that that age of mighty doings was also an age of lofty voices. The days of Mid-Europe's "*Sturm und Drang*" were also the days significantly known as Germany's "*Blütezeit*," when in one single century she gave to the world Lessing, Herder, Goethe, Schiller; Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Schopenhauer, von Hartmann; Richter, the two Schlegels, Schleiermacher, Heine.

In the History of Religion we find the same Law at work. Often indeed a great religious movement is part and parcel of a wider upsurging of spiritual forces. The Reformation may be said to be part of the broad stream of the Renaissance, a freshening of the current in its later decades. The nobler spirits of the great day of Greece—Plato and the tragic dramatists—were also voices of religious reform. Israel had her prophets in the days of her national exaltation; she had her prophets who heralded, and by-and-by voiced, the sorrows and hopes of the exile; she had her prophets of the restoration.

It was in obedience to the same divine Law of Periodicity that our Christian Faith, and the literature it produced, were born. It was out of a great experience in just such "an appointed time" that the New Testament sprang. And here too we remind ourselves that it was all written within about 100 years after the beginning of that experience. The first of Paul's letters was written only twenty years after the Crucifixion; the Fourth Gospel probably about seventy. Thus, if we do not take into the reckoning the two or three later documents,—those, indeed, in which we witness the ebbing of the tide of the Spirit, the tendency to lean on earlier utterances—*all* the great creative literature of the New Testament was written within a space of about fifty years.

(2) *The Source of the New Testament Experience.*

What was this experience? Whence came it? If we were to make the four Gospels coalesce into a single account of the story they each claim to tell, and were then to place the Book of *Acts* as a background for most of the epistolary part of the New Testament, a cursory glance would reveal to us the fact that there are two great waves of spiritual life to be found in the experience out of which the New Testament came—the first being the deep soul-moving impression which the supreme Personality of Jesus made on His followers in the days of His flesh, and the second being the excitement and zealous propagandism which followed Pentecost. And the consistent testimony of this second phase of the experience is that it was due to none other than the re-asserted personality of the Lord, in a risen, death-conquering life, beyond the Cross. There can be no question as to the avowed fountain-head of the entire New Testament experience. It was the entrance into human history of Jesus Christ our Lord.

He came at the end of a dreary stretch of fallow ground in the pilgrimage of Israel. He was born into a race which had a unique religious history. The great inheritance of monotheism was the mountain, climbing which, He reached His unparalleled vision. And He came to be God's Answer to a world-wide awakening and yearning after redemption,—a yearning visible in all the cults and mystery-faiths which were vainly trying to supply man's need. He was not isolated from His environment. For all this preparation, this waiting with growing expectancy, this stirring of the dormant spirit of man, this awaking and yearning, was nothing less than the Spirit of the Most High overshadowing the age to bring to the birth what He had desired, and planned, and toiled for in mankind. Nevertheless, Christ stands alone in History.

He is absolutely without compeer or coadjutor in the creation of the New Testament experience.

St. Paul and St. John have sometimes been set alongside of Him, if not even above Him, as co-founders of the Christian religion. That is to violate the inmost sanctities of these great souls. St. Paul carried abroad the torch of his faith, "determined to know nothing among" those to whom he spoke "but Jesus Christ and Him Crucified." "For him to live was Christ." And the Christ St. John proclaims in his Gospel is the Christ who says, "Abide in me. . . . Without me ye can do nothing." As the source of the entire New Testament experience Jesus stands alone.

(3) *Christianity Viewed as an Amalgam.*

Yet another view has sometimes been taken of the source of the New Testament experience, which would reduce the influence of personality to a minimum. In a book entitled *The Beginnings of Christianity*, recently published by well-known scholars, it is asserted that "like all religions . . . Christianity is a process, not a result." This, they say, is the view of critical study. It is a curiously uncritical and unguarded statement. Our Christian Faith should, indeed, be likened to a stream, rather than to a lake, born of deep springs. Nor will anyone deny that it has gathered much that is good, and not a little that is bad in its course through the centuries. But the fact that the stream had a fountain-head is belittled in the volume we have quoted. Surely it is just as true of historical as of geographical watersheds, that the main direction of the stream is determined by the initial outflow from the springs. But, further, Christianity is a force, rather than a "process." It determines and regulates the process. It has the power, not only to attract what is true (for no truth is alien to "The Truth"), but ultimately to repel what has no vital affinity with it. Like

the waters of the stream, Christianity is a purifying force. In the Councils of Nicea and Chalcedon, we see that force—however imperfectly—at work. And when we come to the Reformation our eyes are opened to the *method* by which the cleansing and renewing of the Faith takes place. It was by a turning back to the source. It was by an unparalleled inflow from the waters of the fountainhead in the New Testament. For, undoubtedly, the life-giving waters are those which gathered and flowed in the first fifty or sixty years after Calvary. It is, therefore, New Testament Christianity which is our primary concern, not the Christianity of later accretions. The theology of the New Testament is quite different from the theology of later reflection. It is experimental from first to last—the expression and interpretation of a great experience. In so far as there is syncretism in the New Testament, it is a syncretism in which the fundamental and determining factor was the new Divine energy which had broken into the world. Granted that it flowed into alien moulds of thought, it was not *they* which altered *it*, but *it* which altered *them*, and gave them a new dimension. Where it could not do so, it speedily shattered them, burst the ancient and inadequate wine-skins, and overflowed all their bounds. To use the other metaphor which Jesus has given us, Christianity is a self-renewing robe, not a patched garment. When the writers already referred to tell us that "the people of the Levant . . . interpreted" the new Faith "in accordance with their own thoughts rather than with its origin, thus starting a new synthesis between Judaism and the Græco-Oriental thought of the Empire," we are offered a false and foolish contrast. They interpreted the original spiritual impulse in terms of their own thought, no doubt. They could do no other. But they were not faced with a choice between their own thoughts and the Faith's origin. It was precisely the origin they

interpreted in accordance with their own thoughts. They had nothing else to interpret. Rather, we should say, the new fontal experience remoulded and enlarged their own plastic moulds of thought, in its effort to find expression for itself adequate to its Divine dimensions.

(4) "*Back to the New Testament Experience.*"

There has arisen to-day an urgent demand to reinterpret our faith in terms which are intelligible to our world of thought, lighted as it is with the light of far-reaching scientific discovery. Only at our peril may we ignore the lesson of history. The Faith has uttered itself in many forms. It is the very life of Faith to do so. But the experience behind these forms is one and constant. And we must return to its source in the New Testament, and endeavour to grasp anew the nature of that experience, if ever it is to become living and life-giving for us again. "Back to Christ" was the watchword of a generation ago; it is sometimes said that the watchword of the present hour in religion is "Back to the Jesus of History." Surely another summons must claim priority. The only records we possess of the career of Jesus are themselves written out of the heart of the New Testament experience. It was only after the first introspective outburst of the great experience—represented by the letters of Paul—that there came the period of retrospection, the writing of the memorabilia. Doubtless in the last of them we see the experience rising to clarified and full-orbed vision of God, the world, and history in Christ. But when it opens: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God . . . And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us," the spirit and attitude is not essentially different from that of the earliest Gospel which designates itself "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God." "Back to

the New Testament experience " should, therefore, be our watchword to-day. Only when the fire of the New Testament life begins to glow again for us with its full significance, shall we be able to give the right name to the flame in the heart of Christ at which the fire was kindled.

But an interpretation of the New Testament experience ? —is that anything other than a construction of New Testament Theology ? The question may be asked with a sarcastic emphasis on the word " theology." For it is fashionable to-day to disparage theology, in the interest of what is sometimes called reality—the direct contact with fact which the feelings are supposed to give. We answer that it is a bare and empty contact with reality which is won through feelings, sensations, thrills, emotions. If anything is characteristic of Reality it is the presence of Reason and Purpose there. And until our feelings are filled with rational content and meaning, we have no contact with reality worthy of the name. After all, as has been well said, " theology is only thought applied to religion, and those who prefer a thoughtless religion need not be so disdainful of others with a more rational taste."

Nevertheless the present-day disparagement of theology is not without a certain justification. The New Testament has, in the past, been too frequently regarded as the complete Divine revelation of infallible and final truth given in the only perfect form. It has been studied *in vacuo*, isolated from history, from its social and intellectual environment, from the temperaments of the writers. It has been laid on the dissecting-table ; its ideas sorted out and labelled like the bones of a skeleton, the scalpels and dissecting-needles being the categories of an abstract and alien logic. Its sentences, words, and phrases have been manipulated into a mosaic of intellectual dogmata. With the lapse of centuries, tradition came to add its quota to the evil process. Thought

which is merely inherited—which is no longer the expression of a living faith—inevitably degenerates : the desiccated limbs of this dead body became fossilised and crusted over with a hoary fungus, making it hard to believe it ever was a living thing at all.

The only way out from such a tangle is back to the New Testament experience. It is urgently necessary for our human life to-day that we should seek to do so. For the New Testament experience was not the creation of an enchanted world apart from the world in which it lived. It was the most vitalising moment of history, the loftiest mountain-region in the whole landscape of human experience. And we have got to cut our own path up the face of the mountain if we would renew the exhilarating contact with its life-giving heavenly air.

(5) *The New Testament Experience and its Modes of Expression.*

One obvious way of beginning this task is by distinguishing carefully between the New Testament experience and the modes in which it expresses itself in the New Testament. And our first duty is to acknowledge that our Faith is but the consummation of God's dealings with the ancient people which gave to the world the knowledge of the one true God. It sprang from the giant tree of this noble monotheism ; a branch or shoot springing from the buried roots of this old tree in a dry ground. Yet it is not wholly true to say that it came at a time when the old faith was almost quenched. If Christianity sprang to life in a merely desert time of human thought, the flower of the desert would, like Mohammedanism, have borne the character of the desert. But *Judaism* had manifested two main lines of development—the prophetic and the legalistic. Christianity was the consummation of the prophetic movement, the warm life of

which had been kept alive by the Ḥasidim, "die Stillen im Lande." Christianity was a new reaction against the trammels of legalism, and it was inevitable that the form of its expression should be determined largely by that fact. St. Paul has often been accused of clothing his experience in the garments of a worn-out Pharisaism. His weapons were the weapons with which the ancient faith provided him. But the battle which he fought under the banner of Christ is a battle which will always go on, so long as there is religion in the world. It is the battle between the religion of adventure and the free spirit and the religion of externally imposed precept and ritual. In spite of its Jewish dress, the Epistle to the Galatians will ever be one of the great charters of spiritual freedom. "It marks an epoch in the history of man: it is the ever-precious document of his spiritual emancipation" (Godet). The experiences of the human soul which underlie the Epistle to the Romans are fundamental and universal experiences of human life. It is to these that the Church has ever turned in the hours of the great revivals, the renewals and refreshments of the Faith. And it is by the opening of fresh flood-gates into that fontal experience that the desert of our present life will be made to rejoice again and blossom as the rose.

It is true also that when Christianity began to spread in the Græco-Roman world, it found the soul of man yearning for redemption from the futility of life, groping after contact with the Life that is eternal, unseen, Divine. It was inevitable that it should describe itself as a new mystery among *the mystery-cults* of the day, and fashion forms of expression for itself in relation to these. But it was not thereby losing contact with reality. This redemption-yearning is a fact indigenous to the human soul. Christianity did not import into itself the myth of the dying and rising god. It came as the response from the side of God pro-

claiming the truth for which these dreams were fumbling and groping. "If," says the wittiest of our modern men of letters, "the Christian God really made the human race, would not the human race tend to rumours and perversions of the Christian God? If the centre of our life is a certain fact, would not people far from the centre have a muddled version of that fact? If we were so made that a Son of God must deliver us, is it odd that (Pagans) should dream of a Son of God?" And surely the difference is heaven-high between the religion which centres round a supreme historic Personality as the God-given Answer to the yearnings of man, and the dreams—the myths which were the human offspring of that yearning? Christianity did not falsify itself by proclaiming itself as the truth after which the universal soul of man was blindly groping.

Again the *Gnosticism* with which the Christian experience had to do battle at the outset is no accidental or forgotten tendency of the human mind. It is as rife to-day as ever it was—the tendency to leave the bed-rock of history, to volatilize the facts of the faith into mere airy speculations and imaginings. Of course you will find certain traces of these speculations in the New Testament. St. Paul and the others were born into a thought-world of which these ideas were part of the *impedimenta*. But if St. Paul accepts that picture of the Unseen—the Divine Pleroma, peopled with æons, messengers, thrones, archai, dynameis, he uses it only to assert that the Spirit of Christ was no mere ghostly æon among the many floating in this Spirit-world, but that His Spirit fills the whole Pleroma, the Fullness of God, subjecting, dominating, disannulling all others; and further—and this is the main point—that this exalted Being, who thus fills the whole sphere of God, was no mere abstraction, no mere "Christ-spirit," but none other than the historical Jesus of Nazareth, who on earth was the express image of God,

because in Him dwelt all the Fullness of the Godhead bodily. In view of all the theosophies and dilettante faiths of the day, the Christian experience can never exonerate itself from the task of proclaiming the same spiritual supremacy of Jesus.

The New Testament experience came into contact also with the spiritual *philosophy of Greece* in some of its post-Platonic developments. The great thought-solvent of the time was the conception of the *Logos*, the uttered Wisdom, the Word, of God. It created the world, broke into light in the soul of man, has guided history, and has revealed from time to time the Mind of God, Light answering to light. Christianity was speaking in the language of the highest thought of the day when it said that the Logos had made its supreme response to those up-flung searchlights of the human mind, in Jesus, the Light of the world, the Word made flesh. Anything less than the loftiest human thought was found by the Christian experience to be inadequate for that which it was ever striving to express. Just so do we to-day proclaim that Jesus is the roof and crown of Evolution, that which the Divine indwelling Spirit of God in creation has been striving to achieve through the unfolding ages ; it is God completing at last the circle of His plan in Christ, the Way whereby men return to perfect communion with Him.

These are all phases of the effort of the New Testament experience to find articulate utterance for itself. The one historic experience abides behind them all. To the question of its origin and nature we now return.

(6) *Faith and Fellowship—the Keys to the New Testament Experience.*

Our point of departure here is clearly marked. It began in the little company of men and women, first followers of Jesus, who met day after day in the Upper Room, during

the six weeks following Calvary, absorbed in the intense, eager, and expectant prayer which found its consummation in Pentecost. *This* was the ecstatic experience which launched the Church on its career down the tide of human history. We can only offer a meagre and rapid description of its main features. It is witnessed again in every great revival-movement in the Church's history. We do not disown its appearance in every solitary prophetic utterance of the Faith ; yet it is in these group-manifestations that its essential nature is most fully, and usually most easily, seen. Clearly it was the liberating of a certain Power which lies hidden in the depths of the Spirit-life to which we belong, the opening of certain flood-gates through which this contagious life-giving Power flowed in to the human soul, anointing and cheering the soiled face of human society wherever it appeared. We may observe its main features in two of its latter-day manifestations :—(*a*) When *Luther* stood in the dawn-light in his Benedictine cell at Erfurt, murmuring to himself, with his finger on an early page of "Romans" : "the just shall live by faith," he was opening the gate through which the Spirit surged into the long-tortured soul of this solitary monk who shook the world. He had become aware that this Spirit had poured, unchecked, unhindered, into the world, through the life and death of Jesus ; that if only men would let themselves go, in abandonment of faith, to this God-sent reconciling stream of Life, it would carry them to the complete redemption of society, the establishment of God's Kingdom upon earth. And the Faith of Luther spread like lightning through the waiting spirit of the age. Faith—was the watchword of that movement. (*b*) Again, when *Mazzini*, in a great hour of his people's history, entered Rome, and "by a pure spiritual ascendency made a populace, demoralised by bad government and charity, rise to something of his own moral height

and dare to bear and die "—even if it *was* apart from the main stream of religious life, it was none-the-less a Pentecost. The soul of the city was laid captive by his spell, as he proclaimed the great dream of a universal brotherhood of humanity, to be achieved through the united spirit of his nation. That word brotherhood, comradeship, *fellowship*, leaping from the kindled fire on the altar of his own heart, became the liberating word through which the Spirit-Power moved out, fusing a whole city into a corporate consciousness, a unique unity of spiritual life.

Faith and Fellowship—these are the two key-facts that undo the inhibiting barriers for the resources of the Divine Life in God. They were both present at Pentecost. Faith —proclaiming Jesus as Lord, the open Way between God and man, through whom God's purpose and God's desire find access to the human spirit. And Fellowship—that intercourse—rooted in this common attitude to Jesus—in which all the dividing walls of individuality fall away, and a new and unique spiritual organism is formed, a corporate personality, an inward sense of oneness issuing in community of life. Through this group-soul with its heightened consciousness men realised the presence of the indwelling God moving in their hearts ; all their powers became extraordinarily enhanced ; and the contagion of radiant personality spread swiftly through the listening crowd.

Faith and Fellowship are the holiest capacities of personality. They are really one, for faith is fellowship with God. Personality has been suggestively described as " capacity for fellowship." Sainthood, it might be said, is the apotheosis of personality, for it is the genius for *spiritual* fellowship. Thomas Traherne felt this passion of Fellowship and expressed it in words aglow with its fire :—

O Lord, the children of my people are Thy peculiar treasures, Make them mine, O God. . . . Give me eyes

To see the beauty of that life and comfort
Wherewith those by their actions inspire the nations. . . .
When I consider, O Lord, how they come unto Thy Temples, fill
Thy Courts, and sing Thy praises,
O how wonderful they then appear!

What Stars,
Enflaming Suns,
Enlarging Seas
Of Divine Affection,
Confirming Patterns,
Infusing Influence,
Do I feel in these!
Who are the shining light
Of all the land (to my very Soul:)
Wings and Streams
Carrying me unto Thee,
The Sea of Goodness from whence they came.

Sainthood is incomplete in the anchorite; he has renounced human fellowship in the interests of fellowship with God. But the unlimited thing in the personality of Christ was His capacity for fellowship, not only with God but with man. The new creation of fellowship at Pentecost was the work of Christ's personality re-asserting itself beyond the Cross, making for itself a new Body on the earth. The Holy Spirit in Christian experience was the all-inclusive immanent Personality of God making realised contact with, and exerting His loving Will for Holiness in, the spirit of man, through Christ.

This phenomenon of Pentecost had been known to some extent before in the history of Israel. Under the inspiration of a great prophet men were sometimes exalted on wings of fire to noble service. And they said, "If only men could always live like that—if only this Something in the prophet could become the common possession of the race!" "Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets!" The prophet Joel voiced this yearning of democracy; and, resting his claim on the Divine character, confidently

affirmed that it would come true. Peter declared that it had come true—at Pentecost. "This is that which was spoken of by the prophet Joel." It was the realisation of the Spirit's presence in the corporate consciousness. All the Lord's people had become prophets. The sons and the daughters prophesied. The young men had visions, and the old men dreamed dreams. It was

> "The vision, vision, vision, of the poets,—
> Democratized."

(7) *The Significance of the Fellowship in the New Testament.*

It is usual to describe the new thing created in human society by the Holy Spirit of God as the Church. But it was not the external organisation which we know in history and tradition; it was the Communion of Saints that was the Holy Spirit's creation. It was prior to the organised *Ecclesia*—the Holy Catholic Church. It was "the Holy Assembly," that invisible Spirit-organism which lies behind all the numerous churches, schools of tradition and doctrine, *ecclesiolae in Ecclesia*—yes, and behind every other movement outside the Church, whether of individuals or groups, making for the redemption of society. When Luke first describes it in *the Acts*, he has no other name for it but "The Fellowship" (ἡ κοινωνία). When he tries to describe the life of the Fellowship, the inner impulse, the unifying motive, he can only stammer and stumble: it was a "devoting themselves to the Fellowship," a "continuing with one accord," a "holding together of believers," a being "of one heart and one mind." And—finally abandoning the attempt at description—he says, "The Lord added to this Something daily, such as should be saved." It was later glossators who substituted, for the vague phrase "this thing," the words "the Church."

Again and again St. Paul and St. John re-echo this word

"The Fellowship." St. Paul calls it the Christian "mystery": it was something that transcended sex, transcended social and intellectual distinctions, transcended race and nationality, making all men sharers in the same Mystical Body, the "one new man." On its inward side it was "Christ within, the hope of glory." It was an atmosphere of reconciling peace. Over and over he pleads for the maintenance of this coherence, this "unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." He sought to make the separate congregations he had founded stretch out hands to one another across time and distance, not in any external oneness of ecclesiastical polity, but in this Fellowship. For to deny or repudiate the Fellowship is to be an offence unto the Spirit. The sin of sins which hinders the manifestation of the Spirit in the world—and this is true in our day as in the beginning—is the offence against spiritual unity, Fellowship.

But how, according to the New Testament, did this new creation manifest itself to the world? At first men were struck by the element of sheer marvel, the ecstasies, the glossalalia, the contagion that lifted men on to a new plane of Spirit-life, and gave them command and direction of powers of healing, of utterance, of revitalisation. But it is not these things which give us the differentia by which we estimate the event of Pentecost. The highest of all the new gifts of life which flowed into, or were evoked within, the hearts of men at Pentecost was, as St. Paul, in a passage which is the holiest flower of New Testament inspiration, tells us, Love, accompanied by Faith and Hope. These are the things that abide, when prophecies, healings, visions, insights, pass away. Temporary or sporadic manifestations may vary in spiritual outpourings; but this is constant and abiding—the moral touchstone of every spiritual movement —Love: Love leaning on Faith in a great deed of love—Love resting on a Divine Promise, and looking forward with Hope

and expectancy shining in her eyes. The *moral* efficiency of the Fellowship lies in its fruits, of which Love is the first. And the method or law by which this new society operates in the world is Love's method—sacrifice. The early Fellowship expressed itself in its central rite by the symbol of the "one loaf," an inexhaustible Loaf to be broken, a living sacrifice for the need of a hungry world. This was the inner essence of all true worship—adoration of the "Broken Body" issuing in dedication to sacrificial service.

But all this resulted from its *religious* efficacy, which lay in its corporate intuition of Divine Truth. It is in the sharing of vision that the unity of the Fellowship is consummated. "That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you that you may have fellowship with us. And the Fellowship—ours—is with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ." Moreover, it is "together *with all the saints*" that the believer comes to "comprehend what is the length and breadth and depth and height, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge." Vision is not, of course, denied to the solitary seeker. "When thou prayest enter into thy closet," said Jesus. But He said also, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst to bless." For the vision is best realised in the fellowship of the two or three, not in the great assembly. Into the mass-meeting men come to declare truth; but into the group, to seek it. And it is in the little group that the inward and spiritual communion "with all the saints" is best realised, not in mass contacts or imposing outward organisation. "God is the place where spirits blend," not necessarily where masses gather. It is in the intermingling of soul with soul in holy yearning that the light breaks, and vision comes. Would God, we could recover this way of loyalty to the Fellowship to-day, that our vision might be renewed, and our life revived.

(8) *The Mind of the Fellowship.*

And here we approach the central point in our enquiry into the New Testament experience. What was the nature of the spiritual vision won in the Fellowship ? There were two main factors in the vision ; and the phrase we lately quoted from St· Paul—" the love of Christ "—gives us the clue to them both. We can only state them in the briefest outline. (*a*) The first was *an insight into the meaning of the Cross.* For though the Fellowhip was " in the Spirit," the early Christians never did describe the central thing in their experience as belief in the presence and power of the Holy Spirit. As Principal Denney has pointed out, there is no such expression in the New Testament as believing in the Holy Ghost. The Spirit is the experience itself—an experience which comes through faith in the crucified Jesus. The New Testament experience was, first and foremost, an intuitive vision, an " assurance that God is sin-bearing Love." . . . " To have that assurance " (I quote again from Principal Denney), " to have that assurance in overwhelming strength—as the Apostle had it through faith in Christ—is to be full of the Holy Ghost." In other words, the Fellowship achieved the ecstatic insight, born of penitence, that God Himself was actively operating in them, through Jesus, to disclose the central reality of the Divine Life as a Forgiving Heart of Love ; and to impart His forgiveness.

(*b*) The second main element in the New Testament experience is the inevitable consequence of this. If the Cross, where we see God as sin-bearing Love, is central in the experience, then the crucified and risen *Jesus is Lord.* Amid the multitude of voices professing to be the work of the Spirit, there was, for the leaders of the early Church, but one infallible religious test. Only the Spirit that led men to the confession : " Jesus is Lord," could be the genuine Spirit of God. Paul had doubtless in view those cults, of

which the mystery-religions were examples, where the initiates confessed this, that, and the other revealer as Lord. The test was a test of history. "The historic Jesus is the Master of all Life, the Lord of Glory." St. John slightly alters the statement, to combat the Gnostic heresies which "divided Christ," and spoke of a "Christ-spirit" (or æon) distinct from Jesus: "Every spirit that confesses Jesus as Christ come in the flesh is of God, and every spirit that confesses not Jesus as Christ come in the flesh is not of God." It is the earliest, shortest, and perhaps the most efficient of all the creeds: "Jesus is Lord." "Thou art the Christ," said Peter at Cæsarea Philippi. And on the streets of Jerusalem at Pentecost he said, "God has made both Lord and Christ this very Jesus whom you crucified."

(9) *The Meaning of the Spirit.*

What then was this Divine Spirit, which, when it broke into utterance in a human heart, declared in adoration, "Jesus is Lord"? The startling truth is that St. Paul hardly distinguishes between the Spirit and God and Christ at all. "You," he says to the Romans, "are not in the flesh but in *the Spirit*, since *the Spirit of God* dwells in you. Anyone who does not possess *the Spirit of Christ* does not belong to Him." (Rom. viii. 9–11). There, in almost the same dip of the pen, he uses the terms, "Spirit," "Spirit of God," "Spirit of Christ" as clearly interchangeable. Nor is it otherwise where he says: "Now there are varieties of gifts but the same Spirit, varieties of service but the same Lord, varieties of workings but the same God who works all things in all" (1 Cor. xii. 4–6). When we think of gifts we think of the bestower as Spirit; when we think of services we think of Jesus "the Servant" as Lord of service; when we think of the energies which gifts and services alike imply we think of God whose energy it is that works through all.

Nor otherwise must we read the word : " There is one Body and one *Spirit* . . . one hope . . . one *Lord*, one faith, one baptism, one *God and Father* of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all " (Eph. iv. 4–6). Spirit, Lord, and God the Father, all are one in the one immanent Divine Spirit that pervades nature, humanity, and fellowship alike. The language of these remarkable documents—" the most free-thinking book in the world "—is pre-eminently the language of experience, the utterance of thought that is plastic, and flows into endless forms. For the Spirit that confesses Jesus is the same Spirit that confesses God the Father too. " God hath sent forth *the Spirit*." Yes, but what Spirit ? "God hath sent forth the Spirit of *His Son*, into your hearts." To what end ? " Crying, ' Abba, *Father* ' " (Gal. iv. 6). Do we hesitate a moment about identifying " The Holy Spirit " with " The Spirit of His Son," " the Spirit of Christ " ? Then let us listen yet again to St. Paul : " Now the Lord *is* the Spirit " (2 Cor. iii. 17).

All this is the language of experience which is touching the very heart and centre of Reality and realising its spiritual oneness. It is not the language of the merely theological mind which is so fond of making abstract distinctions and elevating them into self-existent entities. There is just one profound suggestion in St. Paul's letters as to the ultimate rationale of the Divine Spirit. " What human being," he says, " can know the thoughts of a man save the man's own inner spirit ? So too no one knows the thoughts of God except the Spirit of God " (1 Cor. ii. 10 f.). In short, Paul here suggests that the Spirit is what we in modern terms would call the Self-consciousness of God. And in the same significant passage he describes this Divine self-consciousness as exploring the deeps of God's vast mind. All things, including the mind of man, are within this mighty ocean of Spirit-life ; so that the Divine Self-consciousness is present

in the human spirit—man's self-consciousness. It explores man's mind and conscience, as the ocean-tide invades the creek ; or as the holy revealing sunlight steals into the dark caves of earth. It searches out all the recesses of man's spirit with tireless beneficent intent, even as the sunlight in those dark places of the earth, awakening all that is living there to a new effort after life—holiness. And even as it searches, it identifies itself, in the unsullied tenderness which is only possible to perfect Purity, with all man's brokennesses, failures, shames, bearing back a message of pleading on his behalf to the throne of God's heart. For elsewhere the Apostle says, " He who searches the human heart knows what is in the mind of the Spirit since the Spirit pleads before God for His people " (Rom. viii. 27). He who is the Advocate with men for God, is also the Advocate for men before God's throne. Nor is there any contradiction in the New Testament experience, when St. John tells us our Advocate with the Father is " Jesus Christ the Righteous," or when the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews tells us that it is He who, " touched with the feeling of our infirmities," yet " saintly, innocent, unstained, lifted high above the heavens," has become our eternal " High Priest," and now " appears in the presence of God on our behalf."

But—to return for a moment to this wonderful passage in St. Paul about the self-consciousness of God—this all-inclusive immanent Divine Spirit is God actively willing to disclose His mind to man. Like the revealing sunlight it unveils the deepest treasures of God's heart to the human heart. Where then and how does the heart of man learn these mysteries of Godhead ? How does the Spirit unveil them ? Once more in the end of that suggestive 2nd chapter of 1st Corinthians, Paul answers in a word confirming all that has been said : " We have the mind of Christ " (1 Cor. ii. 16). The mind of Christ ! The Christian's apprehension

of God can no longer be separated from Christ. It includes but far transcends all that he has ever known of God in other ways. It is an overwhelming vision this—that the great unseen Power operating from the central deeps of the Universe must in His essential nature be what Christ was. It is the impression of a peerless Personality, awaking feelings of awe, reverence, humility—the reverence which only the vision of majestic Meekness, infinite Humility can awaken. God is Humility, the humblest Slave in His universe. It is the constraint of Will evoked by a Soul of flawless purity —the constraint which only an urgent, tireless, ever-active Holiness that yearns and hopes for the world, on and ever on, can evoke. God is Holiness—the Pure will that longs and labours to purify. It is the impact of an overwhelming deed in human history awakening redemption-gratitude, love—the love which only uttermost Love can awaken. God is Love—the tender Heart that agonises to redeem. It is the uplifting and expanding of the heart awakened by the sympathy of Christ—an uplift which only an exhaustless capacity for Fellowship can awaken. And such is God who made us for Himself. That is the end of His creative activity—a Fellowship of all souls in Him. In a very real sense, God is Fellowship. And the vision makes us restless until in the Fellowship of all the faithful we find at length our true rest in Him.

And all this vision of God through Christ we receive in the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of the indwelling God, which is for the Christian the Spirit of the living ever-present Christ. This is the New Testament experience.

And see now how this vision expands. Even Paul makes us see this energy of the immanent Divine Will spread out through the whole of life and all Creation's bounds—God's Holy Purpose driven forward by an unswerving infinite desire. The whole creation is groaning and struggling

together until now, under the impulse of this redeeming grace, this self-effacing, self-sacrificing Spirit of God. Every renewing of the face of Nature in Springtime—every fresh blade of grass, every green leaf on the tree, every new beginning in the birth of living things, as well as every saint agonising and every prodigal returning—is crying, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord," and the cry is not only a prayer but a prophecy—a prophecy of the final victory of the Cross, and of the Holy Fellowship of all pure souls in God.

The Spirit is the Christian Hertha, the Christian Brahma, if we may say so, reverently, without being misunderstood; the Spirit which unfolds in Nature and the Spirit which broods above Nature to draw out that unfolding; the Spirit which struggles upward in man as religious aspiration—seeking the Fellowship Divine, and the Spirit above the aspiring soul, kindling flashes of vision into the truth of things; the Spirit of the Divine Son who knows and confesses the Father, and the Spirit of the Father imparting Himself wholly to the Son "in whom He is well-pleased"; the Spirit in the penitent who breathes his sorrowful confession, and the Spirit that flows into the penitent with quickening and renewing power; the Spirit in the believer which confesses the Lordship of the crucified and risen Jesus, and the Spirit of the glorified Christ incarnating Himself in the Mystical Body, the believing Fellowship; that in us which prays, the Burden of the prayer, the Hearer and the Answerer as well.

"The search, and the sought, and the seeker; the soul and the body that is." . . .

"For behold I am with you, and in you, and of you: look forth now and see." . . .

I am in thee to save thee
As my soul in thee saith;
Give thou as I gave thee,
Thy life-blood and breath:

Green leaves of thy labour, white flowers of thy thought, and red fruit of thy death.

Or again, in simpler words, which may be some atonement, if the lines thus appropriated are felt to be too pagan:

His that gentle voice we hear,
Soft as the breath of even,
That checks each fault, that calms each fear,
And speaks of heaven.

And every virtue we possess,
And every victory won,
And every thought of holiness
Are His alone."

(10) *The Test of the Experience.*

Is this New Testament experience a mere subjective hallucination? Apply the one test that satisfies, the test of moral values. Have all the great moral and spiritual achievements, the reforms, the revivals, the regenerations, the heroisms, the martyrdoms, confessedly accomplished by the help of this Divine Spirit that leads us into Truth, been the result of illusion? Can God's universe be built so as to win its ends by fraud and self-deception? To say so is the ultimate blasphemy. So Jesus said, in His passionate vindication of the presence of the Spirit of God in Himself. "Whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him, but he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come." Sin as you will—He seems to say—as mere men groping blindly in the dark, and you are still within the reach of forgiveness, for it is not the action of your enlightened self. But sin against the blazing light of the Spirit's presence, deny and mock its power, call the white and holy deeds it works among men deeds of darkness, and you cannot be forgiven: you have sunk into the eternal blindness from which even the light of God's Spirit cannot awaken you; you have diabolised yourself, and have cast yourself out forever.

(11) *Our Recovery of the New Testament Experience.*

What is the supreme need of the Church to-day ? Is it not that she may reach back once again into the light and warmth of this New Testament experience ? The vision has faded. False conceptions have crept into the mind of the Church. The flood-gates are all but closed against the Spirit. What then are the factors necessary for the recovery of life and power and vision ?

(1) The first is an utter and wholehearted surrender of the Church to the *faith that the living Lord is present in her midst,* here and now ; that she lives because He lives—and for no other reason ; and that He will be with her alway even unto the end of the world.

(2) The second, we are persuaded, is *freedom.* The true pilgrim Church cannot journey in fetters or in cerements. " But," some one may interject, " truth is not won by the spirit that despises the past : reverence is the first essential—reverence for the ancient tradition."—Yes, reverence for the past, by all means. But reverence is not slavery, not spiritual thraldom. Reverence is not the binding of oneself to the dead letter : it is emulating the spirit that fought amid dimmer lights the battle of faith. The Church must give up the pathetic obsession that what was the utterance of the living faith of a day long past must continue to be the expression of this living growing thing for ever. It is her own loyalty, her present witness to her Lord, the Church is ever called on to declare. And liberty is the only air which loyalty can breathe. Freedom, not bondage to ancient formulæ, is the first essential.

(3) And the third is a firmer grasp of *the conviction that the Holy Spirit,* the Spirit of the Risen Christ, *is waiting to lead us into all the Truth*—into all the unsearchable riches of the Reality whose throbbing heart-beat was felt by the company

of the Upper Room. God has yet much light to break out of His word. There must be a complete abandonment of the faithless misgiving, the fear that this may lead us out of Christ into something strangely, coldly different. The Church is to grow up into Christ in all things. He is "*the* Truth"; there can be no "Truth" which leads out of Him.

(4) And the fourth essential is *sincerity*, singleness of heart. For all roads built by sincerity lead finally to God. Blessed are the single-hearted, for they alone shall see Christ. And it was for vision—for *this* vision—the Church was primarily created. It is not new prophets, still less little Christs, the Church must look for, but true witnesses to Christ, eye-witnesses, men and women who have *seen* the Lord.

(5) And the last and not the least of these essentials is *a recovery of the sense of the Fellowship:* a fresh baptism of Love—the love that binds the loyal to their crucified Redeemer, making all one in Him. Our Christian memories, yea, and our Christian hopes of the kingdom, can only be made alive by love, love in the Fellowship which transcends past, present, and future, when it rises to the mountain-top of holy vision, whence it surveys in a single unity of insight, all that we cannot make present to our momentary view, or catch in our fleeting emotion.

Yes, the true Church of Christ is pre-eminently the Community that sees, the Fellowship that enjoys a present experience, rather than the community that remembers. The Fellowship is the organism created to receive that experience; not an organisation for conserving tradition. And when we are confronted by one last challenge of this view, when we are told that the great rite enshrined in the heart of the Church is a sacrament of remembrance, we answer by asking, In what sense is it such? Is it an act of sitting still in passive contemplation of one far-off Divine

event from which the whole creation is swiftly receding? Nay, not such remembering is our sacrament. We die into Christ's death, and rise again into His risen life, in which all the Fellowship participates. We do indeed remember Christ after the flesh; we dare not drag the roots of our Christian experience out of History. Every honest attempt to see Him as He was is to be welcomed; but only so that we may learn more of His eternal significance. For the Christ with whom we hold personal and present fellowship is Christ as He is, the Christ after the Spirit, the Christ who labours and strives in the hearts of the loyal for the coming of His Kingdom among men.

And the Divine vocation of the Fellowship on earth is the ever renewed confession of this living Jesus as Lord. The Church is called on to confess and again confess, no matter what the obstacles in the way may be. When she ceases to do so she is no longer fulfilling her function on the earth. She must recapture the New Testament Experience, make it her own, and utter it forth in words that sincerely mean what they say. And since one member of the Fellowship is dedicating himself here to a new vocation in the Master's service, he would crave permission to end this discussion, haltingly it may be, with a simple statement of his Faith:

I believe in God, through Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord:

because I acknowledge and hallow in my heart Christ's unshareable partnership with God; and in the Son I behold the Father, to whom all worlds belong.

I give myself to God, who was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself:

because I recognise that Christ's Divine vocation was to be God's Forgiveness among men; and that His Passion was the agony of the sin-bearing God.

I share the assurance that the Living Christ is present now

and always in the Fellowship of the Faithful, labouring for the coming of His Kingdom among men :

because I accept the Spirit's testimony that Jesus is alive and unholden of death ; and that He is still awakening the souls of men to eternal Truth and eternal Life.

And finally I am persuaded that all the redeemed shall live forever with Him and reign with Him in a perfected and unshakeable kingdom :

because He that hath promised is faithful ;
to Him be the glory, forever and ever. *Amen.*

J. A. Robertson.

INSUFFLATION.

Every race contributes something to the understanding of the Gospel, and the higher the culture of the race the more valuable is its contribution. So that among the Indians or the Chinese we may expect to recover themes of Christian life and thought that are often obscured or wanting among Western peoples. But it is not only on the side of advanced races that we may look for re-interpretations of Christian documents and the thoughts contained in them. It is becoming generally recognised that there is a folk-lore side of the Gospel itself, and that some things in the Gospel may require a fresh interpretation from a knowledge of the popular beliefs and of elementary peoples. I am in a position of advantage in this respect, as my Eastern life has thrown me into contact with peoples who are almost as elementary to-day as they were in our Lord's time, and who, on that very account, may be employed to determine for us the original meaning of some obscure passages in the Gospels. It will be difficult, for example, to find a more savage or less instructed people than the Kurds.

They cannot read or write, but they have a religion which often suggests meanings to us of Christian practices. Sometimes this is due to the fact that they are degenerate from Christian ancestors ; thus the Kurds of the Dersim region are said at this day to practise a Christian Eucharist at times, though not exactly in an orthodox form. Such groups, if they could be traced and interrogated carefully, would probably take us back into forms of second-century religion, and thus become useful to the Church historian.

The Kurds generally have an elementary religion, in which the priesthood is supplied by wandering dervishes or holy men, and it is through intercourse with these people that I have been led to the interpretations which are contained in the present article. Let me say in advance that I do not pretend that these interpretations are more than suggestions for lines of study. At first sight they may seem to be altogether unorthodox, but we need not be deterred on that account from examining popular Kurdish beliefs and comparing them with what may seem to be parallels in the New Testament.

We have headed this article with the word " Insufflation," or " on-breathing," and the reader is of course familiar (for he has often been perplexed by it) with the double tradition of the gift of the Spirit to the Apostles in St. John and the Acts respectively. In the latter case the Holy Ghost descends from Heaven ; in the former Jesus breathes upon His disciples, and they receive a measure of power and light and authority from the Holy Breath of the Holy Person.

This is a point of view which is commonly overlooked, or treated very superficially by those who write on the subject. It would have been neglected altogether and probably obliterated from the tradition, if it had not been that words accompanied the action which conveyed author-

ity to bind and to loose, the forgiveness of sins and its opposite. Thus the modern priests retain, as they suppose, the authority, but do not practise any longer in the West the insufflation by which the authority is communicated.

In the East it is different, for, as the Church historians know, the ordination of the Abuna, or Head of the Abyssinian Church, is made by the conveyance of a bag of holy breath from the Coptic Patriarch in Egypt. No one can doubt Apostolical succession when it comes in this form.

Now with regard to the question of insufflation generally, we have to remind ourselves that among Semitic people breath and spirit are the same thing, or, at all events, are expressed by the same word. In the Apocrypha, the Divine Wisdom is called "the breath of the power of God," and this term was carried over and applied to Jesus, so that amongst certain of the Fathers He continued to be called the Divine Breath.

In the Fourth Gospel He is the Divine Breather. Evidently we shall need to be very careful in our interpretation of the New Testament, to see that we do not translate the original Aramaic speech of Jesus by the word "Spirit," where Breath would be a sufficient explanation. The equivalence of the two terms and the translation from the lower meaning to the higher may be seen from such a passage as Job xxxiii. 4, "The Spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life." But what are we to say of such a passage as Mark i. 12, "The Spirit driveth Him into the wilderness," which appears in Matthew iv. 1 as "Jesus was led up of the Spirit," and Luke iv. 1, "Jesus was led into the wilderness in the Spirit"? It will be said, you cannot here translate it "breath." Are we quite sure of this? My observation amongst unliterary Syrians and amongst the Kurds has led me to the following conclusion. A saint or a holy man (that is

to say, a dervish) is a man of power, and of supernatural power. And this supernatural power is supposed to reside in his breath. The breath of a holy man can drive you miles away. He breathes on you and catches you with his breath. And here is the curious thing to know, that this very same breath with which he can drive you can drive himself. It is fairy folk-lore that one should be driven or drive by a breath. For this reason some persons will not come near the dervish, nor even approach their sepulchres, because they are afraid of their breath. It is possible, therefore, that a folk-lore element may be in the language of the flight into the wilderness. We should say "His spirit caught him away," and that is very nearly what the Kurd says of his dervish!

The next thing that I have discovered is that these savage people regard the breath of the holy man as having a purifying power. If he breathes on you it is sacramental, it is even the substitute for washing. I was spending the summer at one time among the mountains of Kurdistan, and got into conversation with them about their religious customs. They explained to me that they never took a bath nor washed themselves. They never needed it. The chief of their dervishes visited them once a year, and he breathed on them and they were all clean! Now it may seem impious to make any parallel with John xv. 3, "Already ye are *clean* because of the *word* that I have spoken to you," or with John vi. 63, "The *words* that I speak are *Spirit*," but the impiety, if it is so, is in the nature of things, the lower ideas have of necessity to be used to explain the higher among elementary peoples; and conversely, as we said, we may often gather information from these elementary ideas as to what was really meant by the speaker. As to insufflation generally, it is a common belief in Syria that breath has potent effects. Thus they will say, "This

man's breath is very good," that is, it brings good luck; or " his breath is bad," that is, he brings misfortune ; and many misfortunes are supposed to be actually caused by the breath of a person who is a bad breather. Again, it is a very common belief that supernatural power is attached to the breath, and people will come to the holy man, the dervish, to be breathed on, and the holy man breathes on them and they get cured of their sickness. Even more wonderful than this, the insufflated person becomes immune from dangers : scorpions and snakes and deadly drinks do not affect him any more. It is said that they can take up a snake in their hands without danger. The last twelve verses of Mark will of course spring to our minds, which have long been recognised as containing a thaumaturgic element. And the breathing of the holy man affects animals as well as human beings. They can go to the hole of a snake and breathe and bring the snake out.

What about the power of binding and loosing, of which the ecclesiastics make so much ? These words are actually in use to-day in North Syria, to describe the power of the breath of a holy man. He can loose a sick man by the supernatural power of his breath. He can even breathe on you and you will have no more power to move from your place. The spiritual uses of such a point of view, that the holy man can heal sickness or cause sickness, is given us by St. John, who explains that the root of sickness is sin, and therefore the healing of sickness is associated with the power to forgive sins. Thus the power to bind and loose is the outcome of a magical belief in the powers of a primitive medicine man. Even the so-called power of the keys can be traced among the Dervishes. Your dervish will tell you that he has keys for all doors : he can breathe, and no door or locked box will remain closed for him.

Perhaps what I have said may seem to some persons to

be only a cheap kind of rationalism, such as we have long discarded as insufficient for the interpretation of the New Testament. But this method of inquiry is something quite different from the old-time rationalism. It is a suggestion as to the way in which ideas of an advanced kind are rooted in grosser and more elementary forms. To understand the former we often have to turn back again for a fresh consideration of the latter. Thus the Kurd, whose savagery I have experienced, and whose boundless ignorance I have some knowledge of, may find a place among the commentators of the New Testament.

We shall not be disqualified by our study from saying or singing,—

> "Breathe on me, Breath of God,
> Fill me with life anew."

LOOTFY LEVONIAN.

ARE CHRIST AND THE SPIRIT IDENTICAL IN PAUL'S TEACHING?

DISCERNING students of Paul have long since given up the idea that a formulated system of doctrine is to be found in his writings. His is a theology of a vital, fluent sort that flows from his opulent mind like a spring of living water. Yet the great principles and ideas that animate it are clear and cogent, and underneath its apparent inconsistencies there is a deep and living consistency. The recent emphasis upon the mystical element in his thought and experience, especially as it appears in his Christ-mysticism, raises the inquiry as to how *Christ* and *the Spirit* are related in his thinking. If his experience roots and lives "in Christ" how is it related to the Holy Spirit? Does he mean by Christ the Spirit? Or is there a certain subtle relation between them in his thinking which does not appear upon

the surface ? A study of some of the passages in his Epistles bearing upon this issue may help us to a better understanding of his thought in this respect.

Let us begin with the eighth chapter of Romans, in which he is describing the Spirit-filled life. In this great chapter, after contrasting the mind of the flesh and the mind of the Spirit, he exclaims (ver. 8) : " But ye are not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if so be that the *Spirit of God* dwelleth in you." And then he continues, as if the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ were one and the same, " But if any man hath not the *Spirit of Christ* he is none of his." This does not necessarily imply that there is no distinction whatever in the mind of Paul between the Spirit of God and Christ, but it does indicate that in his thought they are one in essence and influence.

Another significant reference in the same chapter is to " the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead " —plainly differentiating Jesus as an individual from the Spirit of God that reanimated Him. It is noteworthy, too, that the name he uses is " Jesus " rather than " Christ." Paul appears to use the names Jesus, Jesus Christ and Christ in somewhat different senses. *Jesus* for him, seems to stand for the man, the historic individual, who lived and taught and was crucified and rose from the dead and was exalted. Thus when he speaks of the crucifixion or the resurrection he uses the name Jesus, or the Lord Jesus. *Christ,* on the other hand, is the name he uses for the spiritual, indwelling personal Redeemer. He never speaks of being " in Jesus " but always " in Christ." It may be doubted whether the name *Christ* carried much of the significance of *Messiah* in Paul's mind ; it seems to have expressed to him the spiritual and universal character of his Lord, rather than His Messianic kinship. *Jesus Christ* seems to signify, for Paul, the union in Him of the human individual

and the indwelling Spirit. The epithet *Lord* is used by him sometimes of the historic Jesus, sometimes of the Inner Christ, and sometimes of the union of the two, and is evidently Paul's *evaluation* term for Him who had come to be to him wisdom and righteousness and sanctification. To be sure this usage is not fixed or uniform. But it is sufficiently definite to be very significant. In this connexion it is pertinent to recall a verse of the twelfth chapter of 1 Corinthians (ver. 3): "Wherefore I make known unto you that no man speaking in the spirit of God saith Jesus is anathema; and no man can say Jesus is Lord but in the Holy Spirit." The real significance of Jesus, that is, is a spiritual truth, to be understood by discerning that in Him which is spiritual; and this can be done only in the Spirit.

A second fact to be noted as bearing upon this issue is that Paul, having no distinct doctrine of the Trinity, has no trinitarian demarcation of the Spirit from the Son. This appears in both his salutations and his benedictions. In his salutations the formula is, with but a single exception, *dual:* "Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ." His benedictions, too, are either in the name of the Father and Christ or more frequently of Christ alone: "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you." Indeed his only completely trinitarian benediction is that of Second Corinthians. This fact does not in the least invalidate the doctrine of the Trinity. It simply indicates that it had not yet developed into a formulated Christian doctrine. The germ of the doctrine is in Paul's writings, but not its formulation.

The fact that Paul omits the *Spirit* from his forms of salutation and benediction is no indication that he fails to recognise the existence and work of the Spirit. He gives ample evidence to the contrary throughout the Epistles.

Since that is the case, it is fair to infer that in the salutations and benedictions he conveys the values of the Spirit within the term "Christ" or "the Lord Jesus Christ." And in this he is not out of touch with the real significance of the doctrine of the Trinity. It is not the numerical *threeness* God which signifies, but the *threefoldness*, indicating the wealth, the completeness, of the Divine personality and His relationships; and this appears constantly and richly in the writings of Paul, contributing largely to the rise in due time of the doctrine of the Trinity.

Again, it is to be noted that there is a class of passages in Paul's letters in which the terms "Christ," "the Lord" and the "Holy Spirit" are used almost, if not quite, interchangeably. This interchange is illustrated in the account of the relation of the body of the believer to Christ in the sixth chapter of First Corinthians. The bodies of believers are there said to be "members of *Christ*" (ver. 15), and "he that is joined unto *the Lord* is one spirit" (ver. 17); yet, a little farther on, the body is termed "a temple of the *Holy Spirit* which is in you" (ver. 19). This can hardly mean less than that Christ and the Holy Spirit are thought of as practically the same in their essential relation to the life of the Christian. In the profound passage in the first chapter of Colossians the *mystery* "Christ in you the hope of glory" can hardly be intelligible except as virtually equivalent to "the Holy Spirit in you." And yet the Spirit is realised in a new and more vital way through the personality of Christ.[1]

[1] Since writing this study I find the following statement in Professor E. D. Burton's recent scholarly volume: "It is significant that from the point of view of religious experience Paul identifies the Spirit of God and the heavenly Christ. Both are alike the indwelling cause, in the soul of men, of the present religious life and of the future resurrection and blessedness. There is but one experience and but one cause of it, which may be spoken of as the Spirit of God or as the Spirit of Christ or as Christ. . . . In his thought the Spirit of God is the personalized power

Once more. The apostle represents himself as getting instruction and inspiration from Christ the Lord and from the Spirit as if they were, if not one and the same, at least in such close harmony and conjunction as to be practically one. As an instance of this may be cited the seventh chapter of First Corinthians, which treats of marriage as related to the imminent coming of Christ. In dealing with this difficult and exigent subject Paul relies upon his own moral judgment (ver. 25), guided by an authority above his own, i.e. that of "the Lord." By "the Lord" he clearly means the *applied teaching* of Jesus as conveying His mind. In this way Paul arrives at certain definite judgments upon these problems which he conveys with equal delicacy and firmness. Whatever may be said in criticism of Paul's idea of the marital tie, judged either from an absolute standpoint or from that of our own day, it is certainly true that, for an unmarried man, he showed an admirable leniency toward marriage and dealt with a difficult problem with true Christian impartiality and wisdom. Doubtless he overvalued celibacy, but not at the expense of marriage, whose sacredness he deeply recognised. At any rate it is significant that after giving his own unbiassed judgment on the subject, based on the mind of the Lord, he closes the discussion with the words, "I think that I also have the *Spirit of God*." In other words the mind of Christ, the Lord, seems to him so nearly identical with that of the Spirit that he can pass from one to the other with no apparent distinction.

The conclusive word, however, lies in his discussion of the illuminating effect upon the veiled mind of turning from Moses to the Lord. Here the apostle declares ex-

of God, operative in the spirits of men, not distinguishable, in experience, at least, from the heavenly Christ." Ernest De Witt Burton, *Spirit, Soul and Flesh*, pp. 189, 190.

plicitly : " Now the Lord *is* the Spirit " (2 Cor. iii. 17). If it be asked : What Spirit ? the answer is to be found in the earlier part of the same chapter, in which he speaks of " the Spirit of the living God " (ver. 3) and characterises the Gospel dispensation as " the ministration of the Spirit " (ver. 8). It is not to be assumed that by this summary sentence Paul means an absolute and complete *identity* of Christ and the Spirit. It is rather an interpretation than a dogmatic pronouncement ; but as such it is replete with meaning. It means that Paul's Christology is practically that of the Logos doctrine of the Fourth Gospel in another form—as in fact New Testament scholars have long recognised.

This fusing by Paul of the operation of the Spirit with the indwelling Christ, this baptizing of the Spirit into the name of Christ, means that the Spirit is henceforth recognized as completely *personal*. In the recent striking volume, *The Spirit*, Professor C. A. Anderson Scott writes :

> The Lord is the Spirit, wrote the apostle in a sentence of profound significance. The epoch-making discovery was due to the observed identity in the working of the Spirit with the recorded influence of Jesus. It was a discovery as important in its bearing on the conception of the Spirit as on the conception of Christ. If Jesus, who was the Christ, is now thought of in terms of " the Spirit " *the Spirit is now understood in terms of Christ.* . . . Henceforward through being discovered to have character, the Spirit is conceived as personal.[1]

Once more let it be said that the seeming disharmony with the doctrine of the Trinity which the identification of the Living Christ and the Spirit involves is not really such, but, on the contrary, is an assistance to the truer understanding of that doctrine. Christian theology has become needlessly complicated and confusing in dealing with the real values of the doctrine of the Trinity. If God

[1] *The Spirit*, p. 144.

is Spirit, Person, we know from our own nature as persons that as Person He has reality within Himself (Fatherhood); that He goes forth from Himself in self-impartation (Sonship); and that his Self-existence and Self-impartation constitute a spiritual unity by virtue of a Uniting Spirit. In other words, God is that Social Being from whom alone could come a Social World.

That the Divine Self-impartation has taken the form, not only of a universal but of a historic and individualising incarnation, in the Christ of history, is the characteristic conviction of Christianity. The Spirit is one with the Christ. This should clarify rather than confuse our understanding of God. For it is through the historic revelation that men have come to realise the wider revelation which the historic revelation confirms and illumines.[1] "The Beyond that is Within" is the Beyond within the Son of God. And the Beyond within Him is the Beyond within us, understood through Him.

JOHN WRIGHT BUCKHAM.

[1] That the modern interpretation of Christian experience, in its more mystical form, is very close to that of Paul is indicated in the following quotation from Moberly's *Atonement and Personality*: "It is comparatively easy to say what the real truth of Christian mysticism is. It is, in fact, the doctrine, or rather the experience, of the Holy Ghost. It is the realisation of human personality as characterised by, and consummated in the indwelling reality of the Spirit of Christ, which is God" (p. 317). Quoted by Professor Sanday, *Christologies Ancient and Modern*, p. 156.

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE JEWS.

It is agreed that we have received the Old Testament Scriptures from the Jews. The threefold division into the Law, the Prophets, and the sacred Writings is due to them. They were the divinely appointed custodians of the Old Testament Scriptures (Rom. iii. 2; ix. 4). And that was a tremendous privilege. To privilege corresponds responsibility—always—unavoidably—in a world which is not final. How then did they make good that responsibility for the "oracles" entrusted to them? The answer commonly given—the answer thoughtlessly acquiesced in by almost all Christians in this country—is that the Jews were absolutely and faultlessly careful to hand down to us the Old Testament Scriptures exactly as they were received from Heaven. This belief rests chiefly (perhaps) upon the testimony of Josephus, who (to put it simply) was one of the biggest liars that ever lived—whose evidence (to use more polite language) is not by any means generally or necessarily trustworthy. It also bases itself to some degree on the sayings of our Lord in the Gospels. Let us look at one of these. In St. John v. 39 our Lord says to the Jews who disbelieved on Him, "Ye search the Scriptures": that is the rendering put into the text by the Revised Version, and I have no doubt myself that it is correct. They *did* "search" the Old Testament Scriptures; there was not (we are told) a single letter in all those rolls which was not scrutinised, counted, known, recorded: there was no room for *any* mistake, for *any* difference of opinion. "Ye

search the Scriptures," said our Lord to the Jews in that extremely unflattering and plain-spoken discourse of His, "*because ye think that in them ye have eternal life.*" Because ye think falsely, mistakenly, that eternal life is to be found in the minute study, in the accurate knowledge, of the Scriptures. That was their *proton pseudos*, their fundamental error, out of which sprang all their evil and their ruin. "Ye will not come to *Me*, that ye may have life," He added. That was what they should have done; that was what He was ever urging them to do, in all these dis-discourses of chapters v., vii., ix., x. of the fourth Gospel. They should have left searching the Scriptures, in which they only found their own opinions, their own inveterate errors, reflected, and come to *Him*, listened to *Him*, made His teaching their delight, found Him to be the Way to Heaven, the Truth of God, the Life Eternal, which they had vainly thought to find in the Old Testament Scriptures. Read these chapters over again with an open mind, I would venture to say to any one who doubts, and you will see that I must be right. It is indeed true that these same Scriptures bear witness of our Lord (St. John v. 39) : *we* indeed receive that witness and rejoice in it—because *we* have the clue. He Himself interpreted to the Two on the way to Emmaus in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself (St. Luke xxiv. 27). Many people find in this discourse the authoritative beginning and origin of all that teaching—common to all branches of the Church—about the "spiritual" interpretation of the Old Testament. Without insisting on that, it seems clear that the Two must have repeated to others what had made their own hearts burn within them (verse 32), and so the true and Christian explanation of the Old Testament must have become an open secret for the whole Church.

But the Jews did not believe it. It was just as open to

them to say, " We have a law, and by that law he ought to die " (St. John xix. 7) as it was for Apollos to show by the Old Testament Scriptures that Jesus was the Messiah (Acts xviii. 28). The fact is that in saying to the unbelieving Jews " ye search the scriptures—ye will not come to me "—saying it so sadly and sorrowfully, as we believe He did—our Lord began to make that crucial distinction and contrast which St. Paul afterwards enforced in his own trenchant way. Writing to those Corinthian converts of his, who were so clever, so intellectual, yet so curiously blind to some of the most obvious things in the Gospel (2 Cor. iii. 6) he reminds them that it was a *new* Covenant, very different from the old, and vastly superior, of which he and his fellows were ministers : and he adds, " not of the letter, but of the Spirit : for the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life." Now this is hopelessly misunderstood by the vast majority of English readers. For we have developed a trick of speech very dear to the disputers of this world by which we contrast the " letter " of almost any dispensation or " economy " with its " spirit," i.e. its true underlying meaning and purpose. This distinction does, no doubt, often exist : and where it does not exist, it is very convenient for the disputer aforesaid to assert it because it enables him to say what is the " letter " to be rejected and what is the " spirit " to be followed. But this trick of language is (as far as I know) purely English : at any rate it is entirely foreign to the Greek language in which the New Testament is written. The " letter " *can* only refer to the written record, the " spirit " *can* only mean the Holy Spirit of God. Expressed in the language of to-day it means that Christianity is *not* the religion of a book : Judaism *is*—of the Old Testament ; Islam *is*—of the Koran : Christianity, most emphatically, is *not*, a thousand times *not :* it is the religion of a Person,

of Jesus Christ the Son of God: or rather of that other Divine Person, the ever-blessed Spirit of God, by whose gracious indwelling Christ Himself comes to us and dwells in our Hearts by faith. For these Three are One. One in an infinite love and pity and patience, without any difference or inequality. And the nearest of these Three to us *in this dispensation* is the Spirit. The Spirit therefore comes to us as "members of Christ" charged with all the saving grace and power of Him who died for us, with all His sympathy and sorrow, with all His victory over sin and death in human nature and under the conditions of this life. He reproduces the Life of Christ within us. "Christ in us, the hope of glory." For the Son and the Father are (practically) "one thing," all the same (St. John x. 30), so that whosoever hath the Son hath the Father also (1 St. John v. 12, 20). Thus the Spirit is the Giver of Life, eternal life, as we confess every time we repeat the Nicene (Constantinopolitan) Creed. The "letter," on the other hand, even though it be the written record of inspired Scripture itself, "killeth," i.e. it worketh spiritual death, being "searched" in a wrong way, without the help of the Divine Spirit, and apart from faith in Christ. That this is the solemn, emphatic, teaching of our Lord, and also of St. Paul, will hardly be disputed by any one who reads what they say with any sort of open mind. Reading the Bible—especially reading the Old Testament Scriptures—without a real and warm faith in Jesus Christ, does not do any one any good: on the contrary it does immeasurable harm to very many. To how many, God only knows. There are in this country alone (let us say) millions of dead souls. Well, a large proportion of these were "killed" because they read their Bibles *without* the faith and love which are in Christ.

But we were trying to appraise the degree of faithfulness

with which the Jews discharged the great responsibility laid upon them for handing on to their successors and to us the "oracles of God," i.e. the Old Testament. It is commonly both asserted and assumed that they showed herein a marvellous fidelity. This opinion, this assertion, is wholly incorrect. Let us see. First as to the character of the Jews as a race on the whole, we have the candid opinion of St. Paul in 1 Thess. ii. Now St. Paul was by birth and education a typical Jew (see 2 Cor. xi. 22; Phil. iii. 4–6), and moreover he was in the truest sense a Jewish patriot, deeply concerned for their highest interests (Rom. x., xi.). But he knew his countrymen very well, and described their national character very plainly in the passage referred to (1 Thess. ii. 14–16). The Jews, he says, are the people "who both killed the Lord Jesus, and the prophets, and drave out us, and please not God, and are contrary to all men." This horrid malevolence of theirs toward all the rest of mankind he illustrates by adding that they did their level best to prevent the Christian missionaries from preaching salvation to the Gentiles. Finally, giving not indeed the purpose, but the inevitable effect, of this continued wickedness, he says that it was "to fill up their sin alway; but the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost." Bitterly did the Jews suffer in the overthrow of Jerusalem by the Romans—bitterly have they suffered since then from ill-treatment in all the world—but they have deserved, as a race, all that they have suffered. They laid themselves out for it by their inhumanity, their anti-Christian stubbornness, their age-long determination first to exploit their neighbours to the uttermost, and then to see them all damned while they themselves went to glory. Such was the national character of the Jews in St. Paul's day: such it is—I venture to say—to-day. Those people who call upon us to love "the Jews," and who endow them

in imagination with amazing virtues, do deliberately fly in the face of their own Scriptures. According to our Lord, according to the Great Apostle, the Jews were an evil race, the vast majority of whom were bitterly hostile to the truth, hated the light, and were extraordinarily successful in their desperate efforts to put it out. True it is that St. Paul, and all the Apostles, were Jews : nay, Jesus bar-Miriam was Himself a Jew. Yet in the fourth Gospel "the Jews" appear as the great, the inveterate, enemies and opponents of our Lord and His few followers—so solid, so stubborn, so practically unanimous was their animosity against Him and His. St. Paul also, Hebrew of the Hebrews as he was, finds himself obliged to use the same sort of language. Nor do the Jews themselves, whether in canonical or uncanonical writings, fail to confirm these unfavourable estimates of their countrymen. For the former class let Ezra speak (Ezra ix.) or the author of Daniel (Dan. ix.). For the latter we may cite that strange but profoundly moving book (II. Esdras—from the Anglican apocrypha) chaps. iii., vii. (R.V.) and *passim*. Also that other very difficult, but valuable, work the Apocalypse of Baruch, chap. i. 2–4 ; x. 6–end. These latter verses *may* be (as Dr. Charles thinks) Sadducean in origin. It seems to me more likely that they are Sadducean in *temper*. All Jews who were faithful to the Old Testament *must* have had something Sadducean about them, for there is no direct revelation of life and immortality in the Old Testament : and any earnest-minded Jew, contemplating the moral failure of his people and its consequences, may well in his moments of depression have spoken like a Sadducee. It remains, then, a certain fact for all who accept the testimony of Scripture, fortified as it is by the acknowledgment of the Jews themselves, that the Jews at large were exactly what St. Stephen told them they were—from the days of Moses downward. (Acts vii. 51–53.)

In the second place I wish to point out, that it was precisely those "better" and more religious classes who took upon themselves the care and study of the Old Testament writings—precisely these classes, I say, which were most vehemently denounced, most searchingly condemned, by our Lord and Saviour. The Lawyers, the Scribes, the Pharisees! Behold the three classes (often, of course, represented by the same individual) against whom our Lord directed an unsparing, a really terrible, invective. One trembles to think how abominable they were in His sight —how miserably ill they will fare when they come to stand before *His* judgment-throne. The lawyers, the scribes, the Pharisees, the three classes to whose efforts, to whose unsleeping vigilance, to whose meticulous care and accuracy, our modern "Judaisers" so gratefully attribute the preservation, the handing on, of God's Word, of God's self-revelation of Himself, in all its perfection and certainty. Surely this one fact should give them pause, and lead them to look into things somewhat more closely.

If they will do so, I would entreat them, in the third place, to consider the case of that Ezra to whom we do undoubtedly, in some considerable measure, owe it that we have the Old Testament writings to-day. That, failing Ezra, God would have found other means to fulfil His purposes, I do not doubt, but as a fact it was Ezra. You cannot read the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, together with such scanty annals as we possess of the subsequent history of the Jews and the early records of Christianity, without seeing how great, how drastic, was the influence of this man; how completely he dominated and determined the future development of religion amongst his compatriots. Ezra demands and deserves a much more profound and far-reaching "study" than I am capable of offering.

Observe, then, in what guise, and under what title, this

Ezra comes before us in the book which is called by his name. In Ezra vii. 1–5 his genealogy as a priest is traced through Zadok and Phineas to Aaron: but he was much more than a priest—he was far more influential than the then high-priest Jeshua the son of Jozedek, who figures so largely in the annals of the Return and in the pages of the prophet Zechariah. Ezra was much more than a priest: he was a "ready scribe in the law of Moses" (Ezra vii. 6). As such he was already known at Babylon both to his fellow-countrymen and to the Persian authorities. It was known amongst the Jews that Ezra had made a special study of the Law (called the Law of Moses, or the Law of the Lord, and commonly understood to have been delivered at Mount Sinai in the wilderness) and had devoted himself to the great task of keeping it himself, and of teaching others to keep it also. Artaxerxes, Persian king, was much impressed by Ezra, and addressed him as "Ezra the priest," the scribe of the Law of "the God of Heaven" (Ezra vii. 11, 21). Let us examine that a little. "The God of Heaven" was evidently the official (Persian) name for Him whom Jews and Christians alike acknowledge as the one and only God of Heaven and earth. It goes without saying that the Persian Court and Government made no such acknowledgment. But they were very tolerant, very anxious to meet and gratify the religious—we might almost say the "denominational"—requirements and demands of all their subject races. They were especially anxious to be gracious and helpful to people like the Jews, who had been conquered and deported by their Babylonian predecessors. They understood very well that nothing would serve so well to keep the Jews quiet and contented subjects of the great polyglot empire of the Persians as a friendly attitude towards their religion. So they allowed to the national Deity of the Jews this honorific title "the God of Heaven," they

encouraged the rebuilding of His Temple of Jerusalem, they took pains to send thither *the* man of all others whose expert knowledge of the Law of his national Deity was most widely known and valued. It is always instructive to compare the politics pursued, the tactics adopted, by the various great Empires which have succeeded one another in Western Asia. Up till yesterday, e.g., the Turkish government, when not infuriated or mad with fanatical hatred, habitually pursued towards its subject Christian races exactly the same policy which commended itself to the Persians of old. That is to say they suppressed (with more or less of violence) every symptom of *political* insubordination, but they freely allowed and encouraged *religious* autonomy. It was, and is, a part of this policy to deal with subject races, *not* through their political chiefs, *but* through their religious leaders. Thus we find that, at the first return of the Jews to Jerusalem, an important position was held by Zerub-babel, the heir to David's monarchy. Known to the Court by his title of Shesh-bazzar, he was put in charge of the sacred vessels (Ezra i. 8 ; v. 14) and made governor of Judea by the easy-going friendliness of Cyrus. But the successors of Cyrus perceived the danger of the situation, and recalled Zerub-babel, or otherwise made away with him. A careful study of the prophecies of Zechariah, son of Berechiah, will show what the danger was, and how skilfully it was avoided. Zerub-babel was made to disappear, and the High-Priest (whether Joshua or another) was made the dominant personage in Jewry. He became the Lord's Anointed, the official head of the Jewish State. This policy was not only recommended by its immediate usefulness ; it was permanently successful : the heirs of David's line, although known, remained politically negligible : neither the Persian, Greek, Syrian, nor Roman governments had anything to fear from them—politically.

Let us return to Ezra. He was a "scribe" as well as a priest: not like Ezekiel, a prophet as well as a priest. The distinction between "prophet" and "scribe" is familiar to all readers of the New Testament. Our Lord was exceedingly severe upon the scribes (St. Matt. xxiii.), not indeed denying (at that moment) their actual position and authority in the Jewish Church, but denouncing their character and the whole religious régime to which they belonged. No doubt the "scribes" had degenerated since the time of Ezra—as ecclesiastical coteries always do degenerate; but they only degenerate by the continued exaggeration of that which is already exaggerated, one-sided, of evil omen, in their origin, their first beginning. Judging him only by the fact that he was a professional "scribe" of the Law how should we estimate the character of Ezra? We should expect to find him honest, incorruptible, sincere, and personally unselfish. We should also expect to find him narrow-minded, intolerant, regardless of misery caused or even of cruelty inflicted and wrong done in carrying out the measures which he considered necessary. This is exactly what we do find. Ezra did not (as far as we can tell) seek his own advantage in any way: he made no fortune, he founded no family. However much we may deplore to-day the measures which he took, he only took them because he considered them entirely necessary for his countrymen. The most conspicuous of these measures concerned the mixed marriages, about which we read in Ezra ix. and x.; Nehemiah xiii. 23–end. Ezra was determined (and Nehemiah came to share the determination) that mixed marriages should be utterly banned: not only that they be discouraged or forbidden for the future, but that all such unions should at any cost be broken up and made an end of at once. It is instructive to note the different ways in which these two men dealt with the defaulters in this matter.

Nehemiah, who was a layman, cursed them, used personal violence to them, and forced them to swear by God that they would not offend any more. It does not appear certain, however, that he insisted on breaking the marriages already made. He chased away a son of the High-Priest who had married a daughter of Sanballat the Horonite; but *he* (presumably) being driven from Jerusalem went to live with his wife and her family. Ezra, being a priest of the Law, only used moral suasion. First he prayed, with every sign of distress and humiliation, and confessed aloud *in the name of the people* that they had committed this dreadful enormity, viz., marrying women who were not Jewesses. Then, as the people were greatly moved and much afraid, he exhorted them to separate themselves from these wives of theirs, which the people agreed to, and the matter was pressed to a conclusion by a committee consisting of Ezra and certain heads of fathers' houses. One wonders whether Ezra the scribe ever read that most beautiful "pastoral idyll," the book of Ruth—of Ruth the *Moabitess* who married Boaz, and was the grandmother of David and ancestress (as we know) of the Messiah. One wonders if he knew that Salmon (another distinguished link in the pedigree of David) had married Rahab of Jericho, and that Moses himself had married an Ethopian woman for his second wife (Num. xii. 1). All three of these cases were very strong ones; but the strongest for us is the case of Ruth, because all the people concerned were so lovable, so unaffectedly pious, so manifestly under the unseen guidance, the over-ruling care, of the good God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. If it be a question of Ezra *versus* Ruth, there can surely be no doubt which we shall prefer; for whilst we may admire and honour Ezra, all Christian people must needs love Ruth—and, for her sake, Naomi and Boaz too. But if Ezra and Nehemiah had lived then, Ezra would have made a solemn

prayer in which he showed up and deplored the wickedness of Boaz, and would then have commanded him (in the name of God) to put Ruth away: Nehemiah, on his part, would have cursed Boaz (also in the name of God) and plucked off his hair, and made him swear that he would never look at a Moabitess or any other stranger woman again. For that was exactly what they did, on a large scale, in their own day—and did it all, as they alleged, and as they honestly believed, in simple obedience to the Law of Moses—as much and as unequivocally, according to them, "the Law" in the days of Ruth as in the days of Ezra. That brings us face to face with the question whether "the Law" (as we now have it in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers) was in fact given by Moses and accurately preserved and transmitted by the piety of succeeding ages; or whether the nucleus only was given through Moses, and the rest added from time to time by good people who honestly believed that they were only developing what was implicit in the Mosaic Law. I do not wish to prejudge this question at present. But this much is allowed by the most convinced adherents of the former (and older) belief; viz., that "the Law" was for many ages practically forgotten—(more than that) superseded. No one who reads the historical books of the Old Testament with anything like an open mind, can possibly doubt that the dispensation of monarchy in the persons of Solomon and his successors was set up by the will of Jehovah. But the monarchy lay altogether outside "the Law," which knew nothing of any king by Divine right. Again, the dispensation of prophets, messengers of Jehovah and protagonists of His faith and worship, was unquestionably of Divine institution, although *that* also lay quite outside "the Law." To put the contrast more truly, it is evident that the prophets and psalmists had (and taught) a religion which was not "legal," which was in a true sense "evangelical,"

in that it approximated very closely to the Gospel taught by our Lord. It was a religion of penitence, and of loving obedience on man's part, of free forgiveness and kindness on God's part. One may take such a chapter as Hosea xiv., and such a verse as 4, as embodying the message of all the prophets ("I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely: for mine anger is turned away from him"). As for the Psalms, they are in truth far more Christian than they are Jewish. Those who wrote them (speaking generally) were no more under "the curse of the Law" than we are. The living God, after whom their soul thirsted, for whom they looked, for whom they waited, whom they surely found at last, was not the dreadful God of Sinai, of whose "Law" it was said "Cursed be every one that continueth not in *all* things that are written in the book of the LAW, to do them": He was the gracious and loving Lord, "the Father" of our Saviour's discourses and parables. So much, at least, is admitted on all hands. The prophets and the psalmists, whether of Judah or of Israel, recognised sacrifice as a method of worship, and of communion with God, but not the intricate and elaborate system of sacrifices set forth in "the Law" as we now have it. They had a priesthood also, but not restricted to the sons of Aaron, or the Zadokites. Sacrifices were freely offered (with great acceptance too) by Samuel who was a Levite, by Solomon and Elijah (amongst others) who were laymen. Even David, the man after God's own heart, who never wavered in utmost loyalty to Jehovah, made Ira the Jairite (a layman therefore) his chaplain (2 Sam. xx. 26). In short, they had a law of God, statutes and ordinances which differentiated them from other nations—but evidently these were few and simple, not at all resembling that cast-iron system of restrictions and obligations for which Ezra stood, which afterwards drove St. Paul to despair (Rom. vii. and viii.; Gal. ii. and iii., etc.).

Once more, back to Ezra, the ready scribe. He found it written in "the Law," which it was his duty to interpret, and his ambition to enforce, that no Israelite should marry one of the original inhabitants of Palestine (Deut. vii. 3), and elsewhere he found the same prohibition extended to the Ammonites and Moabites who dwelt on the other side of Jordan with this addition, that no member of these communities should "enter into the assembly of the Lord to the tenth generation" (Deut. xxiii. 3), which is read as "for ever" in Nehemiah xiii. 1. To this list the "princes" added, without any authority, the Egyptians (Ezra ix. 1). A reference to the passages relied upon by Ezra makes it plain at once that the prohibition of inter-marriage was only an item in the general command to exterminate. But that command was (avowedly) not carried out, nor did Ezra himself seek to revive it. You cannot persuade decent people, when the first flush of conquest is over, to slaughter in cold blood their neighbours who live peaceably beside them. With the cessation of hostilities, intermarriage becomes at once a common and recognised practice, on which no one looked askance until after the return from Babylon. That it then appeared in the light of a great sin against God was (no doubt) due to the fact that it threatened the whole political and religious future of the chosen race. To a people in the then position of the Jews, the only policy to pursue is "separateness," otherwise they must melt away and disappear in the general flux of peoples and tongues which made up the Persian Empire. They must concentrate on their religion, like the Christian races subject to the Turkish Empire. Whatever there be in their religion to differentiate them from their neighbours, and especially from their conquerors, *that* must be pressed to the uttermost, clung to, exaggerated even. Ezra was quite wise in his day and generation. He, and those who acted with him,

were quite successful. They raised up a public opinion in Israel (small and slightly esteemed as he was) which kept all outside influences at arm's length. The fanatical loyalty of the Jews to " the Law " gave them victory over all the attractions of Hellenism, and all the violence of Syria. Later on it successfully resisted the fascinations of Christianity, and all but baffled the warlike resources of the Roman Empire. But in order to create this public opinion in an unfree section of the general population, you must first of all get it separate and unmixed ; you must sternly disallow of mixed marriages. This fact explains, and (in a certain sense) excuses the horrible cruelty of Ezra's proceedings. He practically forced those who had made these marriages to send away their wives, entailing enormous suffering on people who really had not done any wrong. In innumerable instances there was the pain of separation. People who are " married " do not love one another any the less because something was lacking in the circumstances under which they came together. As it happens we have in the Holy Scripture itself a brief record of such a union violently broken up. Saul, when he had quarrelled with David, gave his daughter Michal, who had been David's wife, to another man, viz., Palti or Paltiel the son of Laish (1 Sam. xxv. 44 ; 2 Sam. iii. 15). David, when he came to power, insisted on having her back. Those who hold with Browning about David's character will say that it was very characteristic of the son of Jesse, who certainly did not care for Michal, and did not want her, to insist upon taking her away from the man who *did*. I often wonder why no one has written a play or a romance on a theme so full of pathos. A single verse sums it all up. Michal was taken away from her husband : he " went with her, weeping as he went, and followed her " ever so far—until Abner drove him away with harsh words (2 Sam. iii. 16). Nor was

this the worst of it. The fate of a woman cast off by her husband, or violently deprived of him, was unspeakably sad. In most cases it was a choice between dying of starvation (and some of these unfortunate women had children, Ezra x. 44) and earning a miserable subsistence as a harlot in some Gentile city. That is the true meaning of Amos vii. 17. It is not a savage threat due to the bitter animosity of the speaker : it is a simple vision of the wretched fate which awaited so many families in Israel in the days of Assyrian invasion—the man carried off as a slave, his children killed, his wife reduced to the last miserable device to procure daily bread. It was cruel on Ezra's part—callously cruel. He did it because he was obsessed with the notion that it was absolutely necessary for the continuance of the holy nation at any cost to annul these marriages. Yet he did all for the glory of God, for the good of his people, for the sake of the true religion. He had no personal ends in view. But he was a " scribe," he was an ecclesiastic like unto St. Dominic and others who have inflicted horrible cruelties, and shown themselves utterly inhuman, in the name of God.

It seems to me quite impossible to dispute the conclusion that such was the character of Ezra the Scribe—the man to whom we owe " the Law " as it now stands in the Old Testament. It is, of course, conceded on all hands that this Law was in great part unknown and unobserved—was either inoperative or superseded—until Ezra brought it forward and proclaimed it afresh, as described in Nehemiah viii. It is commonly assumed that he had got a copy of the original Law from somewhere—or perhaps possessed the rolls written by Moses himself—and simply republished this " Law " : it is far more probable that he and his fellow-workers had been for years collecting the scattered materials for a complete edition of " the Law " from all likely quarters,

from all those priestly schools especially in which these matters had been discussed and studied during the Exile. There is *no* statement made, *no* hint given, whence Ezra got the book of the Law which he read aloud before his people with so much effect. We are bound to form some opinion as to its source : the common opinion that he had got hold of a copy of the Pentateuch—or, at least, of the books Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, with parts of Deuteronomy—is merely an opinion which is no more authoritative than any other. Look for a moment at this " Law " of God. It has but little trace of order or method about it : it bears on its surface every sign of having been pieced together, interpolated, illustrated by narratives—in a word, of having been " collected " from many quarters. Take for instance the Law of the Sabbath rest. In the Ten Words which form the nucleus of the whole Law, it appears already in two forms—in Exodus xx. and in Deuteronomy v. Both forms distinctly claim Divine sanction and authorship. Both demand the same absolute cessation from toil on the seventh day of the week : but whereas in Deuteronomy the demand is based on purely humanitarian grounds applicable to all nations, in Exodus it is based on purely theological reasons, only valid for such as accept Genesis ii. as literally true. If we go on Deuteronomy v., we must perforce accept our Lord's dictum that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath : not so, if we go on Exodus xx. Ezra would no doubt have replied that man—or, at any rate, Israel—was made for God, and the Sabbath was part of the life of God Himself as asserted in Genesis ii. 2, 3. But again the Sabbath Law is anticipated in Exodus xvi., and repeated in Exodus xxxi. 12–17, in xxxv. 1–3, in Leviticus xxiii. 3, and elsewhere : lastly, it is illustrated and enforced in a most tragic manner by the dreadful story in Numbers xv. 32–36. That Ezra believed

this narrative to be true and altogether worthy of the "God of Heaven" I fully believe: that he found the story somewhere, and did not invent it, I believe also. I think he inserted it where it stands, in all good conscience—as also those other dreadful stories about Korah, Dathan, and Abiram in chapter xvi., and about the Midianite women in chapter xxxi. If I am taxed with the reference to the "gainsaying of Korah" in the Epistle of St. Jude, I reply that there is certainly a lesson of warning for Christian people to learn from the story in Numbers xvi., as there is also from that in Numbers xv. (spiritually interpreted), but neither can be considered historical. It is so obvious that Ezra's object throughout was to make *more* distinctive all that was already distinctive in the religion of Israel, so as to emphasise and promote his separateness. For this purpose the Sabbath and the Aaronic priesthood offered themselves at once. Up to the times of exile the Sabbath had been but little accounted of, and is hardly mentioned. Isaiah of Babylon, however, and the other prophets of the Exile lamented its profanation. If Ezra inserted Exodus xxxi. 14 and Exodus xxxv. 3 in "the Law" which he read to the people he did more than all the prophets to "sharpen" the bite of the fourth commandment. Pious Jews who cannot get a Christian servant to wait upon them on the Sabbath dare not light a fire to cook food, or even to warm water for the sick and dying. It is barbarous—it is inhuman—but we have seen that Ezra did not hesitate to be inhuman in pursuit of the separateness of Israel.

What I have suggested is that "the Law" in its final form, as Ezra and his fellows read it to the people at Jerusalem—as we now find it in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers (Deuteronomy seems to have had a history of its own)—owes a great deal, a great deal especially of its terrible severity, to the labours of Ezra and his companions. I do

not mean that Ezra deliberately invented anything. I do not believe that he would have wished, or been permitted, to do anything of the sort. I mean that his own researches, and those of his companions, had unearthed a mass of material, illustrative of "the Law," purporting to give the real meaning of "the Law," out of which he selected what would best suit his purpose and inserted it in what already passed current as the Law of Moses. Such a proceeding will only seem shocking to those who know nothing of the literary canons of that age and people. Ezra was "the scribe of the law of the God of Heaven," who came to the Jews armed with authority from the supreme government to tell them what that law was and to make them do it. His position as well as his zeal for the true religion cried aloud to him to make "the Law" absolutely clear on such points as alliances with strangers, the Sabbath, the exclusive rights of the Aaronic priesthood. To Ezra's thinking it was precisely the want of definiteness, of sharpness, of an awful terror, about these distinctive features of the Jewish "Law," which had brought the Lord's people to their then present low estate. If the "prophets" are to be believed, it was *not* this at all, but the general selfishness and immorality of all classes in Israel. Ezra, however, being a scribe of "the Law," naturally thought otherwise. He acted quite honestly according to his convictions. What he read to the people was the law of Moses as it ought to be received, according to his firm convictions. He had found somewhere amongst accredited traditions of the Sabbath law (*a*) the fourth commandment as it now stands in Exodus xx. 10–11, (*b*) the express command not even to light a fire on the Sabbath, (*c*) the fate of the man who picked up sticks on the Sabbath. These he inserted together with other passages to the same effect of a more general nature. I shall, however, be told that this account of things, however ingenious, is all up in the air

because it is purely conjectural, and because it assumes that "the Law" was still in a fluid state and could be added to by Ezra—or any one else. Let me try to show from the Old Testament itself (for we have no other evidence of any value) that "the Law" *was* in a fluid state before Ezra fixed it once and for ever. I wish to refer to Ezekiel xl.–xlviii.—about the least known and valued portion of Holy Scripture (with the exception of the beautiful vision of the healing waters in chapter xlvii.) but exceedingly valuable for our present purpose. What do we find here? We find an ideal Restoration of Israel to his ancient home, evidently imagined and recorded during the Exile: and under this Restoration we find the Law of Moses (as we now have it) to a great extent recast, altered, improved upon. It is true that the sections of "the Law" which Ezekiel chose for alteration and improvement do not interest us as a rule. Ezekiel was a priest, and was naturally interested in details of the sacrificial worship in the Temple, about which we do not care. My point is that he evidently considered these details open to alteration and improvement. He could not possibly have held the theory which became popular after the days of Ezra that the Law of Moses, *as we now have it*, is of a divine and unalterable value and authority. Ezekiel proposed to alter a great deal of it—as he honestly believed for the better. Some of his reforms were accepted. The priesthood *was* confined to the sons of Zadok (Ezek. xliv. 15): the sanctuary *was* barred off from profanation (chap. xliii. 7–9; xliv. 9), etc. But for the most part, although Ezekiel was a prophet, and although these chapters are inspired Scripture, yet were they laid on one side and presently forgotten. Probably the chief reason was this: Ezekiel had wanted to have a Prince of the House of David at the head of the reconstituted state: he had *not* wanted to have any High-Priest. It fell out, in fact, just the other way.

The jealousy of the Persian government caused Zerub-babel to be withdrawn: its ecclesiastical policy threw up the High-Priest into more and more prominence. So the ideal restoration of Ezekiel could not be carried out as to its main features, and therefore the minor details of ritual, of Temple architecture, of sacrificial worship, were passed by. But the fact remains beyond dispute that "the Law" of Moses was still in the latter years of the Exile so far "fluid" that a great prophet occupied his leisure with dreams of altering and improving it in many of its details. And the further fact that little or no effort was made to carry out his reforms shows conclusively that *practical considerations* determined the ultimate shape which "the Law of Moses" took. Ezra was above all things practical. He could not keep Zerub-babel; he could not prevent the High-Priest from becoming the *de facto* head of the restored nation: but he could and did secure the "separateness" of Israel (*a*) by destroying the mixed marriages, (*b*) by sharpening the Sabbath law, (*c*) by giving awful and Divine sanction to the exclusive rights of the Zadokite priests. He was amazingly successful. Partly, indeed, for good: much more, though he did not foresee it, nor in the least intend it, for evil. Those who do evil that good may come of it have as a rule a lot to say for themselves: but in the long run they are shown to be evil-doers. Ezra was one. He went about to secure the separateness of Israel by cruel and inhuman means. He ascribed cruelty and inhumanity to the God of Heaven. We see and feel the disastrous consequences to-day.

The New Testament supplies all the remedies that are wanted, if we would only give heed to it. The Law and the Gospel are irrevocably opposed to one another. Sinai and Calvary stand for dispensations which are mutually exclusive. The "Law"—as ascribed to Moses, as brought

into its present shape by Ezra—was a back-water, a *cul-de-sac*. It made nothing perfect. It was off the direct line of religious evolution, which ran straight from the patriarchs to the prophets and psalmists of Israel, and from them to our Lord. The "Law" was added by reason of transgression: it came in "beside"—or "by a side door" as it has been translated: it merely occupied the ground until Christ came. It was *ab initio* hateful and intolerable. It was full of horror and spiritual death: its only language was a curse. That is—unquestionably—how St. Paul felt about it: that is how he speaks about it in his epistles: that is how John Bunyan and all our older divines thought and spoke of it. It is not so now. Having substituted the Bible, including "the Law," for Christ, men find the one thing needful in the inspiration of Scripture. They are as keen upon the books of Leviticus or Numbers as on the Gospel of St. John. They put the Bible (including Numbers xv., xvi., xxxi., etc.) into the hands of the child, of the man in the street, of the raw heathen, and say to them, "Here is the Word of God, here is His self-revelation: every word is inspired, every word is true: God is just like that: only believe the Bible, and you are saved." And then they overflow in gratitude towards the Jews who have (as they mistakenly believe) been so marvellously careful of the Divine deposit committed to them to hand it on exactly as they received it. I have (I think) shown that "the Law" was in a very "fluid" state when Ezra took it up, and that he put a different face upon parts of it. In other respects also the Jews have *not* been faithful guardians of the Old Testament. (1) As to the text many passages are so corrupt that the meaning can only be guessed at (cf. Ps. lxviii. 30 or Zeph. iii. 15–18, etc., etc.). But it goes without saying that the original text was intelligible. (2) The headings prefixed to the Psalms and other Scriptures are

totally unreliable—most of them wrong. They have been highly accounted of, and thought authoritative, as having been set down by Jews ; and the Revised Version retains them in the Psalter, but the best commentators treat them very lightly. E.g., Psalm li. is headed, " A psalm of David, when Nathan the prophet came unto him, after he had gone in to Bathsheba." And that is traditionally believed still by most English Christians. But the moment we look at the psalm itself we see how totally unsuitable it is to such an occasion. Whatever David was, he was not a hypocrite, and he could not have said, " Against Thee only have I sinned," when he had seduced Bathsheba and murdered her husband : nor would he have said, " Deliver me from blood-guiltiness " when his hands were dripping with the blood of slaughtered Uriah. More than that, it is a great pity to take away a Psalm like this from ordinary people by attributing it to David who was an absolute monarch. Far more likely, and far more usefully, it may be taken as the heart-broken cry of some unknown servant of God who has only just succeeded in keeping clear of mortal sin, and is painfully alive to the weakness of his own nature. For us it is all the better for being anonymous : for the Jews, who were thoroughly superficial, not to say stupid, in their religious notions about the Scriptures, it was a thing intolerable that any part or fragment of Holy Writ should not be duly assigned to some recognised author or other, and if possible to some particular moment in his life history. *All* these guesses of the Jews are absolutely worthless, and have only succeeded in leading the common opinion of Christians astray: internal evidence from the Scriptures themselves is the only criterion which can be trusted, and not in any case the tradition of the Jews.

This will hardly be disputed by any one who knows the subject. It may, however, be urged that our Lord Himself

accepted the Old Testament without demur, and did not disavow the Jewish tradition as it existed in His day. That is true. It is also true that He accepted for the purposes of conversation, and even of religious teaching, the then current notions about the sun, moon, and stars, which were of course pre-Copernican and false to the facts *as we know them* (see St. Mark xiii., especially verses 24, 25). Nobody who has any knowledge of modern astronomy could possibly speak of "stars falling from heaven," which implies that they are small luminaries fixed in the firmament of heaven (cf. Rev. vi. 13). Our Lord did not come to teach astronomy, or the scientific criticism of the Old Testament; therefore we do not look to Him for enlightenment in such matters. He came to reveal the Father, and to save our souls; and He came as the Child of a Jewish maiden, and in another sense as the Child of the Jewish Church (see Rev. xii.) as she then was. The whole subject is profoundly interesting, and not unimportant. It cannot be discussed here. Suffice it to say that as He was "made a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, that He might confirm the promises given unto the fathers and that the Gentiles might glorify God for His mercy," so it was wholly outside His commission and His sphere to correct the secular knowledge of the world, whether on the subject of astronomy or of history, or of the literary criticism of the Old Testament, or of any other subject which God has left to the reason and research of mankind. It is, of course, quite true that our Lord's authority has been invoked again and again against the conclusions of reason and research on some of these subjects —or on all. The history of these attempts should contain warning enough of their futility: if these attempts be repeated, we have nothing more to say: we simply pass on our way, sorry, but unafraid.

RAYNER WINTERBOTHAM.

WORDSWORTH AS A RELIGIOUS TEACHER.

ACCORDING to his latest biographer, it was in 1820, or about a century ago, that Wordsworth began to be recognised in widening circles as a great English poet. Certain it is in that year there was a marked change in the tide of public opinion concerning him. Previously his poetic work had been depreciated on every side. For many years, the leading periodicals, like the *Edinburgh Review* and *Blackwood's Magazine*, had never ceased to pour contempt on his endeavour to secure a place amongst the real poets of the country. It was left to a few elect spirits like Coleridge, Southey, Charles Lamb and John Wilson of Elleray, to discern the worth and beauty and power of his poems. But in spite of the publication of *Peter Bell* and the parodies of it by Shelley and others, the genuine elements in his poetry began to lay hold of the heart and imagination of all candid readers. He had achieved the victory on which, as he indicated to Lady Beaumont, he ever kept his eye : that is to say, he had created the taste in the public mind by which alone his writings could be fully appreciated.

This is seen in the new attitude towards the poet which some of the Reviews of the day began to assume. In March, 1820, for example, the *London Magazine* devoted an entire article to an unbiassed study of his poems and proclaimed their value in language of the most cordial tone. Though still reflecting the old prejudice against him on the ground of superfluous use of popular or prosaic topics, the writer said : "Mr. Wordsworth connects the simplest and commonest incidents with the rarest and often the most complicated thoughts and feelings : by which we may see what a mistake it is to speak of him as a writer aiming at simplicity and failing in the attempt. . . . He is fearless in the familiarity

of his expressions, because he is conscious of the depth, grandeur and importance of his sentiments. . . . He has given us the essence of poetry in his works, without the machinery, the apparatus of poetical diction, the theatrical pomp, the conventional ornaments." [1]

Yet it would be a grave misconception to assume that it was simply a clearer insight into the general trend of Wordsworth's poetic genius that wrought this change in the public estimate of his work. There was a deeper underlying force in operation. Beyond doubt, the element in his poems that began to win him this higher regard in the mind of his readers was the conviction they inspired, that in him there had appeared a great leader in the highest range of truths which the world then needed to learn. This was always the function that Wordsworth himself desired to fulfil. No one ever put his aim more clearly than he himself once did in a letter [2] to Sir George Beaumont: "Let the poet first consult his own heart, as I have done, and leave the rest to posterity—to, I hope, an improving posterity. The fact is, the English public are at this moment in the same state of mind with respect to my poems, if small things may be compared with great, as the French are in respect to Shakespeare, and not the French alone, but almost the whole continent. Every great poet is a teacher. I wish to be considered as a teacher or as nothing."

It was under the assurance that Wordsworth had realised this desire that in his Latin address in presenting Wordsworth to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford for the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1839, the author of *The Christian Year* spoke as he did of his services to the cause of religious truth. As the statement, though often alluded to,

[1] *Wordsworth: His Life, Works and Influence*, by Prof. G. M. Harper, vol. ii. p. 308.

[2] *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 31. Cf. his words to his nephew, *Life*, vol. ii. p. 7.

is but little known, I venture to give a simple rendering of it: "I could wish that I were free to enlarge on this point that the University, and, to a large extent, literature itself, could not easily dispense with that austere and solid grace with which the young manhood of the poor, well and wisely spent, is wont to imbue their sons. But on this point, gentlemen of the University, I have considered that I should do enough, and indeed more than enough, if I at once recalled to your memory one who is already in our midst, adorned with his Laureate's crown: one who alone, especially amongst poets, has surrounded the manners, studies and religious practice of the poor with, I will not say a good, but rather a heavenly light. On this occasion I have thought that to the poetical works of this writer, all should be referred who from the depths of their hearts desire to perceive the secret yet necessary connection of honest poverty with the graver muse, with lofty philosophy and with our most holy religion."[1]

Keble resumed the same strain in the dedication to Wordsworth of his own *Lectures on Poetry* (*Praelectiones Academicae de poetica*) five years later. Here he speaks of Wordsworth as "a true philosopher and dedicated poet, to whom the Supreme and Blessed God assigned this calling that, whether he sang of the affections of man or the beauty of the heavens and the earth, he might lift up the hearts of readers to holier things, might ever stand by the cause of the poor and the simple, and so, in a decadent era, come forth as a Master not only of sweetest poetry, but also of divine truth." Knight adds that "the *ad sanctiora erigeret* was a phrase that specially delighted Wordsworth." (*Ut sup.* p. 371.)

How worthy of this reference by Keble the religious views of Wordsworth came to be, I hope to show in the sequel.

[1] The Latin original is given in Knight's *Life*, etc., vol. iii. p. 369.

Here we should remember from the outset that they were based on very simple and truly human views of God and man. It would have been no matter for surprise, if this had not been so. In Wordsworth's age the idea of religion as essentially a matter of obligation, to which Kant gave such a central place in his system, was still taught by many influential writers. The poet never wavered in his adherence to the principle of duty as the guide of human life ; but the aspect of religion he kept in his eye was suggested not so much by the etymology of *religare* as of *relegere*. To his mind, it was the practice of meditating on God as the Supreme Being, the Creator of the Universe, and the Parent of mankind, in a spirit of trust and hope and self-surrender to His will. This indeed is what he meant when in the familiar lines on *The Rainbow* he said :

> And I could wish my days to be
> Bound each to each by natural piety.

For he held that in human nature there is a capacity for discerning the presence of a Supreme Power in the universe ; that, wherever this presence is acknowledged and welcomed, Piety (εὐσεβεία) or due reverence for the Divine begins ; and that this piety, whatever higher elements of truth it may embrace, lies at the root of all true religion and ought to be constantly cultivated, to govern and unite every successive stage of the whole mental, moral and social life of man.

Holding such views of religion, Wordsworth could not help taking similarly lofty views of the function of Poetry. In the prefaces to his poems, he has given many valuable *dicta* on the place and worth of the poetic art : as when, for example, he calls it " the expression of emotion recalled in tranquillity " or " the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge," or " the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all Science." But he is not content with

such descriptions. We never reach Wordsworth's idea of the essence of poetry till we hear how he views it in connexion with the religious life. "The commerce between Man and his Maker cannot be carried on but by a process where much is represented in little and the Infinite Being accommodates Himself to a finite capacity. In all this may be perceived the affinity between religion and poetry, between religion—making up the deficiencies of reason by faith ; and poetry—passionate for the instruction of reason ; between religion—whose element is infinitude and whose ultimate trust is the Supreme of Things, submitting Himself to circumscription and reconciled to substitutions ; and poetry—ethereal and transcendent, yet incapable to sustain her existence without sensuous incarnations." [1]

This general statement is reinforced by more definite utterances. Writing to Lady Beaumont, for example, of the devotion to a life of worldly vanity and selfishness he saw on every side, he said : "In such a life, there can be no thought ; for we have no thought (save thoughts of pain) but so far as we have love and admiration. It is an awful truth that there neither is, nor can be, any genuine enjoyment of poetry among nineteen out of twenty of those persons who live or wish to live in the broad light of the world. This is a truth and an awful one, because to be incapable of a feeling of poetry in any sense of the word, is to be without love of human nature and reverence for God." [2]

We get still closer to Wordsworth's idea of the Divine side of poetry in another more pointed utterance of the same letter. A typical subject for poetic treatment in his view was to be found in "the interest which objects in Nature derive from the predominance of certain affections, more or

[1] *Essay supplementary to the Preface.* (1815.) *Prose Works* (Knight), vol. ii. pp. 229–230.

[2] *Memorials of Coleorton* (Knight), vol. ii. pp. 8–9.

less capable of salutary renewal in the mind of the being contemplating these objects." Then he adds: "This is poetic, and essentially poetic. And why? Because it is Creative."

Here at last, it seems to me, we get at the very core of the lofty function of poetry which the great poet cherished. A poet, as the very word implies, is to be a maker, and that, too, after the fashion of the supreme Maker, whose he is and whom he serves. He is to do his work in the closest communion with God: so that poetry of the highest grade is the expression in rhythmic speech and artistic form of the thoughts and feelings inspired in an impassioned soul through the contemplation of the Divine energy as it is manifested in Nature and in the varied experiences of human life. It is thus as truly Divine as it is human, alike in its origin, its form and its aim.

Amongst those who have clearly discerned the trend of Wordsworth's thought on the perfect harmony of religion and poetry, the names of Coleridge, Aubrey de Vere, Henry Taylor, J. C. Shairp, W. Knight, Walter Raleigh and Stopford Brooke at once rise into the memory. It is well-nigh impossible for any later writer to enter on a study that has been led by such harvesters without exhibiting traces of their influence. But the field is a very wide one; and one is not without hope that in trying to present a brief review of Wordsworth's religious teaching one may succeed in gleaning from various corners of his works a few handfuls of ears which some readers may not without profit beat out for themselves.

I.

There can be no doubt that for several years of his early manhood Wordsworth was beset by grave doubts concerning religious truth. A very acute French student of his start in

life and literature has marked this period as a moral crisis. This result was largely due to the influence of William Godwin and the circle of revolutionary writers and thinkers of which he was the centre. The main feature of their system was the place they assigned to the understanding as the dominant force in human nature and the organisation of society ; and it had a baneful effect on the opinions they held concerning the existence of God and His providential activity in the world. The happiness of the race, they thought, could be ultimately secured by forces that were at the command of men themselves. All that they needed to win it was a mental freedom that should be absolutely untrammelled. In the words of M. Émile Legouis, " Wordsworth then had not been called on to make any sacrifices for this humanitarian religion, which promised everything and demanded nothing in return. Beyond doubt, if the Christian faith had been a vital reality in him, it would have been disquieted by the thought of a rival which only contemplated an earthly providence and threw itself on the protection of Reason. But at that time Wordsworth was a Christian only in name, and his sluggish Christianity was asleep in one of the lumber-garrets of his mind. On the contrary, his native devotion was yielded to the new divinity, namely, that Reason to which by a singularly appropriate symbol the Convention had set up its altars. It was to Reason that all which had been gained was due, and it was by Reason that all which still remained to be won could be achieved. A goddess as well as an idol, surrounded by faithful adherents as well as fanatics, she seemed to preside over the magnificent metamorphosis of the world."[1]

This enthralment seems to have lasted up to Wordsworth's twenty-ninth year.[2] But then, partly through the com-

[1] *La Jeunesse de Wordsworth*, Liv. ii., ch. iv. p. 259.
[2] Cf. Coleridge's Note-book : *Anima Poetae*, p. 35. (Oct. 26, 1803.)

panionship of his sister, Dorothy, who led him back to communion with Nature, and of his humble fellow-men around him, yet chiefly by the influence of Coleridge's friendship and higher philosophic thought, the chain of the servitude began to loosen. The semi-atheist, as Legouis calls Wordsworth, started to survey the nature and life of men from a higher standpoint ; and with quickened vision, though after many a conflict, he reached convictions on the being of God and His purpose in the world that became the strength and solace of his whole later life. Like not a few thinkers of more recent times,

> He fought his doubts and gathered strength,
> He would not make his judgment blind,
> He faced the spectres of the mind
> And laid them : thus he came at length
>
> To find a purer faith his own.

From that era onwards he once more gloried in God as the living, personal Creator, the Supreme Parent of mankind, infinite, eternal and unchangeable in being, wisdom and power, and no less in righteousness, faithfulness, holiness and love.

Space would fail me here, were I to attempt showing at length how fully these notes are heard and re-echoed in so many of his poems. It must suffice to indicate and illustrate the line along which these earlier convictions were recovered and confirmed.

Three elements were at work in preparing Wordsworth to resume the theistic position. The first of them was his keen sense of beauty. To his deep consciousness of the True and his eager appreciation of the Good, he added a passionate delight in the Beautiful. Wherever in Nature he saw objects that either separately or in the combinations of landscape were stamped with order, symmetry and congruity—and his practised eye saw them everywhere—his soul was stirred to its

depths at the revelation. Whenever also he heard sounds in harmony—and his ear seems to have been as keen as his eye—he listened with a deep feeling of joy.[1] Two of his fine poems on *The Naming of Places* illustrate this endowment.

In *Joanna's Rock* he writes :

'Twas that delightful season when the broom
Full flowered and visible on every steep
Along the copses runs in veins of gold
. . . . . .
Such delight I found
To note in shrub and tree, in stone and flower
That intermixture of delicious hues
Along so vast a surface, all at once
In one impression, by connecting force
Of their own beauty, imaged in the heart.

Similarly in *Emma's Hill*, he says :

The stream, so ardent in its course before,
Sent forth such sallies of glad sound, that all
Which I till then had heard, appeared the voice
Of common pleasure : beast and bird, the lamb,
The shepherd's dog, the linnet and the thrush
Vied with this water-fall and made a song
Which, while I listened, seemed like the wild growth
Or like some natural produce of the air
That could not cease to be.

But, if beauty be thus the formative element of this world, and, by analogy, of the whole universe, can it have come into play only for the gratification of man ? Since it is diffused everywhere, in lonely deserts as well as in the depths of ocean, must it not be so because it has come from a Divine Creator, whose all-seeing eye is gratified by the sight even as His ear is ravished by the sound of it, where there is no human creature to behold or listen ? And what shall be the dominant characteristic of this God but an essential loveliness of nature and life that on this, as on so many other grounds, makes Him worthy of the highest worship ? Truly did Shakespeare say : " Virtue is beauty," and, as he indicates,

[1] Cf. *The Prelude*, Book I., ii. 549–566.

especially the virtue of kindness. As Wordsworth thought of God, he regarded His kindness as manifested in the whole wealth of beauty which He had lavished on human nature and the world.

In forming this conception of God, the poet was only unwittingly carrying out to its legitimate issue the view of beauty expressed by Plato in one of the greatest of his Dialogues. "Wordsworth is very grand at times," said Rabbi Duncan. "He is a better Platonist than many of the philosophers." The following passage offers a striking proof. "He who has up to this point been fully taught the things of love and continues to gaze upon the beautiful in due order and with just perception, as he comes towards a complete view of love, will of a sudden behold something wonderful—the very thing indeed, Socrates, for the sake of which all our former toils have been borne—namely the Beautiful Nature, which first of all exists for ever, never becoming or perishing, never waxing nor declining . . . but Beauty in itself, always abiding with itself in absolute simplicity and imparting itself to all other beautiful things; in such a manner as that, while all of them grow and perish, Itself never becomes greater or less or suffers the least harm. Wherever any one mounting upwards from these things in the spirit of vital affection begins to contemplate that Beauty, he shall be almost in touch with the end."[1]

William Knight, therefore, was fully justified in saying to his old teacher that Wordsworth did not worship Nature. "It is Nature's Spirit that he worships, the Universe as haunted by the Eternal Mind."[2] But the same impulse has always been at work in every great son of the race. Charles Kingsley, for example, had not a little of the vision of genius; and it never shone out so brightly as when in

[1] *Platonis Opera* (Oxonii), Tom. II. *Symposion*, pp. 210*b*–211*a*.
[2] *Colloquia Peripatetica*, p. 53.

his dying hour he was heard to say: "How beautiful God is!"

Co-operant with the sense of beauty was Wordworth's deep conviction of the reality of an invisible world of spirit. Primarily this intuition sprang from a deep consciousness of his own spiritual life. In him, 'feeling' was not a mere affection but also a moral instinct, prompting him to choose the good and hate evil; and this combined with intelligence became conscience—the stern law-giver that lodged in his soul a sense of dependence on a superior Power and responsibility to it for the way in which he laid out his whole life. As he saw around him a whole race with the same endowment, what so natural for him as to identify this Power with One Personal Spirit from whose will the whole universe came into being? This conviction in turn carried with it the possibility of an unseen world of created spirits and even of a kind of consciousness in Nature itself.

It is in this way that we find in the *Prelude* such utterances as these:

> I felt
> That, 'mid the loud distractions of the world,
> A sovereign voice subsists within the soul,
> Arbiter undisturbed of right and wrong,
> Of life and death, in majesty severe,
> Enjoining, as may best promote the aims
> Of truth and justice, either sacrifice,
> From whatsoever region of our cares,
> Or our infirm affections Nature pleads
> Earnest and blind, against the stern decree.
> (Book x. 11, 181–190.)

> On the other side, I called to mind those truths
> That are the common-places of the schools—
> . . . . . .
> that the godhead which is ours
> Can never utterly be charmed or stilled;
> That nothing hath a natural right to last
> But equity and reason; that all else
> Meets foes irreconcilable, and at best
> Lives only by variety of disease.
> (Ibid. ii. 191, 203–208.)

> I was only then
> Contented, when with bliss ineffable
> I felt the sentiment of Being spread
> O'er all that moves and all that seemeth still,
> O'er all that, lost beyond the reach of thought
> And human knowledge, to the human eye
> Invisible, yet liveth to the heart:
> . . . . . Wonder not,
> If high the transport, great the joy I felt,
> Communing in this sort through earth and heaven
> With every form of creature, as it looked
> Towards the Uncreated, with an eye of love.
> (*Prelude*, Book ii. 399–414.)

As the strain of this last quotation indicates, Wordsworth's progress to a full-orbed faith in God was also greatly aided by his profound sense of the infinite. To a mind like his, which found so great a delight in the prospect obtained from the tops of mountains, there was very much in the vast range of the world itself to suggest the idea of infinitude; the amplitude of plain and sea and the unfathomable blue of the sky, made only the more impressive by being flecked with clouds, brought him the thought of unbroken extension. As night came down on the scenes of earth and revealed the vault of heaven "all sanded o'er with suns" and systems in number beyond the power of the telescope to compute, the feeling of infinity was still further enhanced. When to the infinitely great there was added the infinitely little as disclosed by the microscope, his mind was still further prepared to receive the idea of one Living God, whose being was absolutely unfettered by the limits that check our human activity.

The issue for the poet was an abiding conception of God as the Supreme Parent Spirit of the universe; the Fountain-head of all life; pure, radiant and self-diffusing as Light; essential Love, and therefore ever desirous of a deepening communion with His human offspring; immanent in creation yet transcendent; yea, infinite, not in the sense of

spatial omnipresence or mere absolute omnipotence, but as without origin or end of duration, without hindrance to freedom of action in everything He wills to do, and without limitation of blessedness in the realisation of His eternal purpose of mercy towards the children of men.

This serene faith then Wordsworth at last reached and thenceforth retained unfalteringly. In what noble forms he has expressed it, the whole strain of his poetry bears witness. Three examples must suffice :

> Whether we be young or old
> Our destiny, our being's heart and home,
> Is with infinitude and only there :
> With hope it is, hope that can never die,
> Effort and expectation and desire
> And something evermore about to be.
> (*Prelude*, Book vi. 11, 603–608.)

> The unfettered clouds and region of the Heavens,
> Tumult and peace, the darkness and the light—
> Were all like workings of One Mind, the features
> Of the same Face, blossoms upon one tree ;
> Characters of the great Apocalypse,
> The types and symbols of Eternity,
> Of First and Last and Midst and without end.
> (Ibid. ii. 634–640.)

> Thou, dread Source
> Prime, self-existing Cause and End of all
> That in the scale of being fill their place ;
> Above our human region or below
> Set and ordained : Thou, who didst wrap the cloud
> Of infancy around us, that Thyself
> Therein, with our simplicity a while
> Might hold on earth communion undisturbed.
> . . . . . Thou, Thou alone
> Art everlasting and the blessed spirits
> Which Thou includ'st, as the sea her waves ;
> For adoration Thou endur'st ; endure
> For consciousness the motions of Thy will ;
> For apprehension those transcendent truths
> Of the pure intellect that stand as laws
> (Submission constituting strength and power),
> Even to Thy Being's infinite Majesty.
> (*Excursion*, Book iv. 79–99.)

From the passages already quoted and many others like them, it is clear that Wordsworth was content to exhibit his ideas of God in general terms. Unlike Milton, who took pleasure in displaying his special doctrinal tenets throughout his great epics, Wordsworth was careful to avoid any statement that might indicate dogmatic prepossessions. Wherever it was possible, he preferred to carry with him the sympathy of all his readers, without distinction of class or school.

To me, however, it is just as evident that, whenever in his study of the Scriptures he came across representations of the Divine activity that appealed directly to his spirit and were adapted to the purpose of his art, he never hesitated to utilise them. Who can doubt, for example, that he had pondered deeply the great passage in the book of Proverbs which exhibits the place Wisdom took in the whole work of creation in the beginning and the subsequent development of human life ?

> The Lord possessed Me in the beginning of His way
> before His works of old,
> I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning
> or ever the earth was . . .
> When He marked out the foundations of the earth,
> then I was by Him as a master-workman ;
> And I was daily His delight,
> rejoicing always before Him,
> Rejoicing in His habitable earth,
> and my delights were with the sons of men.
> (Prov. viii. 22–23, 30–31.)

It was surely this great Artificer, and not strictly God Himself, as so many essayists assume, that the poet had in view when he wrote :

> Wisdom and Spirit of the universe !
> Thou Soul that art the Eternity of thought
> And giv'st to forms and images a breath
> And everlasting motion, not in vain,
> By day or starlight thus from my first dawn
> Of childhood, did'st Thou intertwine for me
> The passions that build up our human soul ;

> Not with the mean and vulgar works of man,
> But with high objects, with enduring things—
> With life and nature—purifying thus
> The elements of feeling and of thought
> And sanctifying, by such discipline,
> Both pain and fear, until we recognise
> A grandeur in the beatings of the heart.
> (*Prelude*, i. 11, 401–414.)

This use of Biblical utterances comes out still more distinctly in the poet's interest in the prologue of John's Gospel. Here, I cannot help thinking, he owed much to the influence of Coleridge, whose views on the significance of the *Logos* had always been so pronounced. Wordsworth made no secret of his delight in John's fuller reproduction of the teaching of Proverbs viii. For, in a letter to Sir George Beaumont (May 28, 1825), he says: "What manifold reason have you and I to be thankful to Providence! Theologians may puzzle their heads about dogmas as they will, the religion of gratitude cannot mislead us. Of that we are sure; and gratitude is the handmaid to hope and hope the harbinger of faith. I look abroad upon Nature; I think of the best part of our Species; I lean upon my friends; and I meditate upon the Scriptures, especially the Gospel of St. John; and my creed rises up of itself with the ease of an exhalation, yet a fabric of adamant."[1]

Is it not a reflection of the teaching of the Fourth Gospel that we find, for example, in the fine poem on *The Power of Sound*, so little read and still less understood? In the seventh stanza the poet says:

> Point not these mysteries to an Art
> Lodged above the starry pole:
> Pure modulations flowing from the heart
> Of Divine Love, where Wisdom, Beauty, Truth
> With Order dwell in endless youth?

So in the last stanza, he says:

[1] *Memorials of Coleorton*, vol. ii. p. 238.

O Silence! Are man's noisy years
No more than moments of thy life?
Is Harmony, blest queen of smiles and tears,
With her smooth sounds and discords just,
Tempered into rapturous strife,
Thy destined bondslave? No! though earth be dust
And vanish, though the heavens dissolve, her stay
Is in the WORD, that shall not pass away.

In every copy of the poem I have, "the Word" is always printed in capitals; and its reference to John's Gospel is confirmed by the sentence in the argument prefixed to it, which sums up the stanza just quoted in these words: 'The destruction of earth and the planetary system—the survival of audible harmony and its support in the Divine Nature as revealed in Holy Writ."

Another point at which Wordsworth strikes out in the direction of Biblical thought is seen in his idea of the "Powers" that operate in human life and the world around us. In some aspects of it this topic is best discussed in connexion with his interpretation of Nature; but it was also a part of his religious teaching. Every one is familiar with the manifold ways in which the existence and service of angels is recognised in the Scriptures. The earliest books are studded with the story of their interpositions in the life of men. They appear in the apocalyptic writings of the Old Testament: nor are they wanting in the New. They watch over Jesus in His birth and infancy and temptation; and they appear again in connexion with the agony in Gethsemane, as well as, in conflict with His foes, in the death on the Cross.[1] Thus far even the Lord was under their guidance. But after He had tasted death for every man, a great change took place. Son of man, as He continued to be, He was no longer kept "a little lower than the angels." He became their Master and Director; and thenceforth, as the later history of the apostles shows so fully, they were

[1] Colossians ii. 15.

sent forth to execute His behests on behalf of His people in the midst of men.

None the less, however, did the angels maintain their service in the world of Nature. As W. Robertson Smith once pointed out with great acumen, angels are really the motive forces that govern the phenomena of the natural realms. So, he held, Paul himself taught. What, for instance, are "the rudiments of the world" (στοιχεῖα) to which the apostle alludes in his letters to Galatia and Colossæ ?[1] They are angelic or elemental powers—"the elements that make up the κόσμος": "The spiritual forces sent forth by Jehovah clothed themselves in these phenomena."[2] In their operation throughout the history of the Old Covenant they may often have been a source of humiliation or dread and dismay to men; but now under Christ the Lord they are beneficent agents "sent forth to do service in behalf of those who are to inherit salvation."[3] Even in daily intercourse amidst the scenes of nature, men may find "powers" at hand to cheer their hearts and enlighten their minds.

It is this conviction which Wordsworth expresses with so much emphasis and in so many varied forms. Milton excelled him in depicting the interposition of the higher angelic orders; but he surpassed his master in the depths of his experience of actual angelic ministrations in the ordinary life of the world.

> Ye Presences of Nature in the sky
> And on the Earth! Ye vision of the hills!
> And Souls of lonely places! Can I think
> A vulgar hope was yours, when ye employed
> Such ministry; when ye through many a year
> Haunting me thus among my boyish sports,
> On caves and trees, upon the woods and hills,
> Impressed upon all forms the characters

[1] Gal. iv, 9; Col. ii. 8, 20.
[2] The Expositor (2nd Ser.), vol. i. p. 146.
[3] Heb. i. 14.

Of danger or desire ; and thus did make
The surface of the universal earth
With triumph and delight, with hope and fear
Work like a sea ? [1]

To many students of Wordsworth, it has always been a matter for surprise that, with his deep and active religious convictions, he did not give more distinct expression of his Christian experience. Why, it has been asked, did he not write for us some evangelical hymns that might have become, in all generations of the Church, familiar as household words ? In answer, it may be said that, when the subject of salvation fell naturally into his train of thought, he did not hesitate to allude to it. In his very suggestive poem on *The Primrose of the Rock*, for example, he says :

I sang : Let myriads of bright flowers
Like thee in field and grove
Revive unenvied : mightier far
Than tremblings that reprove
Our vernal tendencies to hope
In God's redeeming love :

That love which changed—for wan disease,
For sorrow that had bent
O'er hopeless dust, for withered age—
Their moral element
And turned the thistles of the curse
To types beneficent.

Sin-blighted though we are, we too
The reasoning Sons of men,
From one oblivious winter called,
Shall rise and breathe again,
And in eternal summer lose
Our threescore years and ten.

To humbleness of heart descends
This prescience from on high,
The faith that elevates the just
Before and when they die,
And makes each soul a separate heaven,
A court for Deity.

[1] *Prelude*, Book i. 11, 464–475. Cf. *Expostulation and Reply*, Stanzas 6–7.

So also in one of his *Inscriptions in a Hermit's Cell*,[1] he writes very much in the spirit of a hymn :

Not seldom clad in radiant vest,
Deceitfully goes forth the Morn ;
Not seldom Evening in the West
Sinks smilingly forsworn.

. . . . . .

But Thou art true, incarnate Lord,
Who did'st vouchsafe for man to die :
Thy smile is sure, Thy plighted word
No change can falsify !

I bent before Thy gracious throne
And asked for peace on suppliant knee ;
And peace was given,—nor peace alone
But faith sublimed to ecstasy !

The real reason for his silence, however, doubtless was that, unlike Cowper, who was constrained to write hymns out of the depths of his fervent spirit and the whole course of his Christian experience, Wordsworth felt that he could serve his generation in the will of God far more effectively by presenting the more general truths of religion that had most powerfully touched his own spirit, and that the people of his own day had most need to learn.

In no sense, we are assured, did this reticence spring from feeble convictions on the supreme worth of the Christian religion. Such sonnets, for instance, as Seathwaite Chapel [2] in the Duddon series, as well as others in the *Ecclesiastical* series set the intensity of his feelings beyond doubt. His reluctance to write in the strain of Cowper was in the last resort due to an unwillingness to lay bare the thoughts of his heart on such lofty themes. Writing on Shakespeare's meagre references to the religion he professed, Professor Saintsbury said that the reserve sprang, " Certainly, as the few utterances that touch it show, from no incapacity of dealing with it, and apparently from no other dislike than a

[1] *Works* (Knight), vol. vi. p. 175. [2] No. xviii.

dislike to meddle with anything outside of the purely human providence of which he felt he was universal master—in short from an infinite reverence."[1] The same feeling was evidently at work in Wordsworth. As he put it in reply to Dean Alford, "I was particularly pleased with your distinction between religion in poetry and versified religion. For my own part, I have been averse to frequent mention of the mysteries of Christian faith; not from a want of a due sense of their momentous nature, but the contrary. I felt it too deeply to venture on handling the subject so familiarly as many scruple not to do. I am far from blaming them, but let them not blame me, nor turn from my companionship on that account."[2]

Sure is it that, just as it stands, Wordsworth's teaching on God and His primary relations to man has been a source of marvellous help to many perplexed souls. In *Mark Rutherford's Autobiography* the writer tells of the great change that swept over his spiritual outlook by reading one of Wordsworth's earliest books—the *Lyrical Ballads*. "It conveyed to me no new doctrine, and yet the change it wrought in me could only be compared with that which is said to have been wrought in Paul himself by the Divine apparition. It excited a movement and a growth which went on till, by degrees, all the systems which enveloped me like a body gradually decayed from me and fell away into nothing. Wordsworth unconsciously did for me what every religious reformer has done—he re-created my Supreme Divinity, establishing a new and living Spirit for the old deity once alive but gradually hardened into an idol."[3]

Even in these times, it would not be difficult to find preachers of the Gospel to whom a similar experience of

[1] *Elizabethan Literature*, p. 168.
[2] Feb. 21, 1840. Knight's *Life*, etc., vol. iii. 387.
[3] (Unwin), 13th ed., pp. 18, 19.

Wordsworth's "penetrative" and "healing power" would mean a passing from a realm of gloom into the sunshine of a new day, while to their congregations it might bring a spiritual life richer and deeper than they have ever asked or imagined.

J. P. Lilley.

NEWLY DISCOVERED MEANINGS FOR ΟΥΝ.[1]

There has been no small amount of speculation as to whether or not *οὖν* should be translated only as inferential in the New Testament. The Revised Version uniformly translates this conjunction as inferential by the words *therefore, so, then.* That a correct understanding of this word is exceedingly important in New Testament interpretation is evident from the fact that it colours and affects the thought of the whole context in which it occurs, and from the fact that it occurs four hundred and ninety-six times in the New Testament.

In a doctor's thesis, "The Meaning of *οὖν* in John's Writings," which was prepared in Dr. A. T. Robertson's department for the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, Kentucky, I have developed at length the proofs for new meanings for this conjunction. The data in this article come mainly from that thesis. I take this means to publish the results of my research work. Space does not permit me to present much evidence, nor to discuss adequately what I present. My conclusions are based mainly on the study of this word in the papyri and in the New Testament.

Careful examination of certain passages of Scripture, both in the R.V. and A.V., reveals that this conjunction

[1] The words in italics in this article are translations for *οὖν.*

either does not suit the passages or else is mistranslated.

John xviii. 22–24, "And when he had said this, one of the officers standing by struck Jesus with his hand, saying, Answerest thou the high priest so? Jesus answered him. If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil: but if well, why smitest thou me? Annas *therefore* sent him bound unto Caiaphas the high priest."

Why did Annas send Jesus to Caiaphas? *Therefore* implies that it was either because the officer struck Jesus or because of what Jesus said when He was struck. Tampering with MSS. shows that people for several centuries back have thought οὖν to be in the way here. It is very apparent that an inferential translation of οὖν does not fit this context.

Notice also the incongruity of an inferential translation for οὖν in the following passages:

John xx. 29–30, "Jesus saith unto him, Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.

"Many other signs *therefore* did Jesus in the presence of the disciples which are not written in this book."

Luke xiv. 33–34, "So therefore whosoever he be of you that renounceth not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple. Salt *therefore* is good, but if it," etc.

Acts viii. 24–25, "And Simon answered and said, Pray ye for me to the Lord, that none of the things which ye have spoken come upon me.

"They *therefore*, when they had testified and spoken the word of the Lord, returned to Jerusalem."

First I shall present evidence to show that οὖν may be translated as adversative occasionally. My first intimation for believing that this word may serve as an adversative connective came through the study of the two following documents in the papyri.

From a philosophical fragment.

δοκη δε ἐκει φαινεσθαι ἐου γαρ ἐπ' ἐκεινον του κατοπτρου ὁραται ἀλλα ἡ ἀνακλασις ἐπι τον ὁρωντα. περι μεν οὐν τουτων ἐν τοις του Τιμαιον εἰρηται (sic).

P. Oxy. XIII, 1609 : 12, 98–138 A.D. Trans. "And it seems to appear there. For it is not seen on that mirror, but the reflexion to the one seeing. *However*, concerning these things mention has been made in the (discussions) on Timæus."

From a letter of warning concerning the temple inspector's visit.

. . . γείνωσκε γὰρ [ἐξε]ταστὴν τῶν χειρισμῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εἰς ἐληλυθέναι καὶ μέλλιν καὶ εἰς τὴν μερίδα σου ἔρχεσθαι. τοιγαροῦν μηδὲν ταραξθῇς, ἐγὼ γάρ σε ἀπαλλάξω. ἐαν μὲν οὖν σχολὴν ἄγῃς γράψας σου τὰ βιβλία ἄνελθε πρὸς ἐμέ.

P. Tebt. II, 315 : 16, II A.D. Trans. "Know that an inspector of finance in the temples has arrived and intends also to go into your district. *But* do not be at all troubled, for I will release you. *However*, if you really have time, write up your books and come to me."

In these two extracts from the papyri we have three examples of οὖν used as adversative. At any rate the context argues for an adversative connective.

In a business letter of B.C. 73 in P. Tebt. I, 37 : 15 is another similar use of this conjunction. Hartung in *Partikeln der Griechischen Sprache*, vol. 2, quotes freely from classical literature setting forth the diversified uses of οὖν. He asserts that it is adversative in function occasionally, "Gleichwie οὖν solcher Gestalt in die Bedeutung von ὁμῶς überzugehen scheint, so nimmt es auch wie dieses Wort adversative Kraft an."

In Acts xxv. 4, and xxviii. 5 οὖν is translated in the Revised Version *howbeit*, but these are the only places in the R.V. where it is translated as adversative. The fact that the

context argued so conclusively for an adversative rendering in these passages that the revisers were impelled and constrained, even against their training and prejudices, to translate *οὖν howbeit,* is exceptionally forceful evidence that the word may have the same meaning in other places in the New Testament. Take for instance Acts xxv. 22, where *οὖν* is rendered *therefore,* and notice how much better *however* suits the context. "For this cause the Jews seized me in the temple and tried to kill me. *However,* having obtained help from God, I stand even to this day witnessing to small and great."

1 Corinthians xi. 20, where the R.V. translates *οὖν therefore.* "For there must be factions among you, that they that are approved may be made manifest among you. *However,* when ye assemble yourselves together, it is not possible to eat the Lord's supper, for each one in his eating takes in advance his own supper, and one is hungry and another full." Thus, the real reason that Paul specifies for their not being able to observe properly the Lord's supper is not factions, but failure on their part to all partake of one common memorial meal at the same time.

John viii. 38, *ἃ ἐγὼ ἑώρακα παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ λαλῶ. καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν ἃ ἠκούσατε παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ποιεῖτε.*

The R.V. has for this, "I speak the things which I have seen with my Father: and ye also do the things which ye have heard from *your* father." In one case the definite article is translated *my,* in another *your. Οὖν* seems to be translated *also.* Thus the translation seems forced and not natural. It is my opinion that, since there is practically no punctuation in the oldest Greek MSS., and because the expression "the Father" is twice used and so close together, this verse should be translated, "What I have seen with the Father I speak. *However,* do you also do what you have heard from the Father?" This is the normal

translation for at least every word except *οὖν*. Thus Jesus contrasts His loyalty to the Father with that of His listeners.

John xi. 5, 6, "Now Jesus loved Martha and her sister and Lazarus. *However*, when He heard that he was sick, He still remained in the place where He was two days." Abbott says, concerning the frequent use of "therefore" in this chapter, that it is to show how Jesus moved forward in a regular and predetermined sequence to do the Father's will." Westcott explains this passage in the same way. Providence has too often been the favourite argument for explaining difficult grammatical constructions. In sacred literature it can usually be used with effect, but in such mundane literature as the papyri furnishes it is worthless.

The following is a partial list of passages in which I think *οὖν* should be translated as adversative: Matthew x. 26; Luke xxi. 14; John ii. 22; iv. 45; vi. 19; ix. 18; xii. 29; xviii. 11, 27; Acts xvii. 30; xxiii. 21; xxvi. 22; Romans ii. 21; x. 14; xi. 1; 1 Corinthians xi. 20; 1 Timothy iii. 2; 2 Peter iii. 17. In all, there are about thirty such usages in the New Testament.

There is exhaustive and convincing evidence in the papyri (and much in the N.T.) that *οὖν* was frequently used as an emphatic or intensive particle. My first direct evidence leading to this conclusion came from the examination of *οὖν* in postscripts, which were disconnected from the body of the letter and which stressed some statement already made in the letter. Notice these two:

A.D. 94. *Μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποιήσῃς.* P. Fay, 110, 34.

A.D. 56. *Μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποιῇς.* B. G. U. III, 824, 17.

Translated: "*Be sure* that you do not do otherwise."

As excellent evidence for *οὖν* as emphatic I give here the copies of two entire letters.

B.C. 162. *Ἀπολλώνιος . . . Σαραπιῶνι . . . τῷ ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν. καλῶς οὖν ποίσης φρότισαί μοι σίταρι ὃν δέδωκα*

Πτολεμαίνωι το [. .]. *ἐυτύχει.* Brit. M. P. I, 28. Trans., "Apollonios to Sarapion his brother greeting. Please *be sure* to look after the grain for me which I gave to Ptolemaios. Goodbye."

B.C. 112. *Ἑρμίας Ὥρῶι χαίρειν. τῆς πρὸς Ἀσκληπιάδην ἐπιστολῆς ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκιται,* [*φρόν*]*τισον οὖν ἵνα γένηται ἀκολούθως. ἔρρωσο.* P. Tebt. I, 33. Trans., "Hermias to Horus, greeting. Appended is a copy of the letter to Asclepiades. See to it *by all means* that it is followed. Goodbye."

The context in each case forbids an inferential rendering and calls for an emphatic translation of *οὖν*. A few references in the papyri on this use of *οὖν* are, P. Rylands, II, 229 : 7, 17 ; P. Oxy., XII, 1493 : 9 ; X, 1293 : 7 ; II, 281 : 9 ; 282 : 6 ; 294 : 14, 25 ; B.G.U. I, 37 : 5 ; IV, 1095 : 5.

John xx. 29–30 may be well translated, "Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed : blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed."

"*To be sure* Jesus also performed many other signs."

In Philippians iii. 8 we have *ἀλλὰ μὲν οὖν γε καὶ*, and in 1 Corinthians vi. 7, *ἤδη μὲν οὖν ὅλως*. The presence of so many particles in these places is clearly for the purpose of emphasising the statements. The R.V. does not try to translate *οὖν* in either case. There are at least four words in each example that are emphatic. What depth of feeling is here expressed ! Paul's inmost soul cries out through these expressive particles.

Matthew iii. 8, 10 stand out with greater clearness when *οὖν* is treated as emphatic. "*By all means* produce fruit worthy of repentance. . . . Every tree, *rest assured*, that does not produce good fruit is cut down and cast into the fire." Or Luke xiv. 34, "Salt *to be sure* is good, but if," etc.

I also suggest that *οὖν* be translated in the following passages as emphatic :

Matthew x. 32 ; xii. 12 ; Luke xiv. 33 ; xxi. 7 ; Acts ii. 33 ;

x. 33; xxv. 11; Romans iv. 10; v. 9; Ephesians v. 1; vii. 15; James iv. 7; v. 7. This is merely a suggestive and not an exhaustive list of references of this usage of οὖν. It should be so translated about sixty-five times in the New Testament.

The context in each case should suggest what emphatic English word or phrase is most suitable. Some additional suggestive words are, *surely*, *indeed*, *very*, *really*, *certainly*, *above all*, *in fact*.

It is strange that οὖν was not translated occasionally as emphatic in the R.V. since it was frequently used as such in classical Greek. Hartung claimed emphasis was one of its functions. Monro declares that is its chief function in Homer. And Blass agrees with Hartung. Among the meanings Liddell and Scott give are *really*, *at all events*, *surely*.

I found four cases of an unusually peculiar use of οὖν in the papyri. In these places it is used in the body of a sentence following a relative pronoun and seems to intensify the indefiniteness of the pronoun very much as ἄν does, A.D. 78. ὃν δή ποτε οὖν τρόπον, P. Amh. II, 86: 9. A.D. 42. ἥ ὅστις οὖν, Brit. M. P. III, 1171: 8. II, A.D. ὅσα ποτὲ οὖν. P. Rylands, II, 243: 9. III, A.D. ὅστις ποτ' οὖν, P. Milligan, p. 113.

The other usage of this conjunction which I wish to set forth in this article may be called transitional, continuative, or resumptive. This is the significance οὖν has in John's Gospel most of the time, and it is my opinion that it should be so translated in the New Testament about a hundred and seventy times.

Then and *now* are the two words I use to translate οὖν in this classification. The former indicates a succession of either time or events, the latter, a continuation of a subject from one thought to another, or the introduction of a new phase of thought. In this sense it is a synonym for δέ and

may be used to introduce an explanatory statement, or, in continued discourse.

I offer as partial proof for this classification two convincing extracts from the papyri, both from private letters. *Ἔπεμψα σοι ἄλλας δύο ἐπιστολὰς διὰ Νηδύρου μίαν, διὰ Κρονίου μαχαιρόφου μίαν. λοιπὸν οὖν ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ Ἄραβος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ἀνέγνων καὶ ἐλυπήθην.* B.G.U. IV, 1079 : 6, 41 A.D. Trans., "I sent you two letters, one by Nedymus and one by Cronius, the swordbearer. *Then*, at last I received the letter from the Arab, and I read it and was grieved.

καλῶς μοι ἐστίν. ἐρωτῶ σε οὖν κύριέ μου πατὴρ, γράψον μοι ἐπιστόλιον, B.G.U. II, 423 : 11. II, A.D. Trans., "I am well. *Now*, I beg you, my lord father, write me a little letter."

Other references to this usage in the papyri are, B.G.U. I, 48 : 4; 73 : 10; 322 : 9; IV, 1024 : 7; 1078 : 6; 1097 : 8; P. Rylands II, 104 : 8.

Plato used *οὖν* in this sense frequently. I give here a translation from his *Phaedo* : "After waiting no long time he came and ordered us to go in. *Now*, when we went in we found Socrates already bathed and Xanthippe holding his little boy and sitting by his side. *Now* when Xanthippe saw us she cried."

In their Grammars, Winer, Blass and A. T. Robertson affirm that *οὖν* is transitional or continuative in the New Testament at times.

In Acts i. 18, 1 Corinthians ix. 25, Hebrews vii. 11, viii. 4, ix. 1 *οὖν* is translated *now* in the Revised Version. If the revisers translated it so in these passages, in spite of their training and prejudice against that meaning, it is good evidence that it may be transitional in other places in the New Testament.

Following are a few passages in which *οὖν* is clearly

transitional. I depend upon the mere translation to be sufficient proof. John iii. 25, "For John had not yet been cast into prison. *Now*, there was a controversy among the disciples of John." John iv. 6, "And the well of Jacob was there. *Now*, Jesus having been wearied by the journey, sat down thus on it." John iv. 27–28, "Yet no man said, What seekest thou? or, Why speakest thou with her? *Then* the woman left her waterpot." John xviii. 23–24, "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil: but if well, why do you strike me? *Then* Annas sent him bound to Caiaphas the high priest." Acts viii. 24–25, "Pray ye for me to the Lord, that none of the things which ye have spoken come upon me. *Now*, when they had testified and spoken the word of the Lord, they returned to Jerusalem." Acts xi. 18–19, "Then to the Gentiles also hath God granted repentance unto life. *Now*, they that were scattered abroad . . . travelled as far as Phœnicia."

Other suggestive references to this use of οὖν are John xi. 17, 20, 21, 32, 38, 56; xii. 1, 2, 3, 9, 17, 21, 29; Acts viii. 25; ix. 31; x. 29, 32; xiii. 14; xiv. 3; Colossians ii. 6, 16.

If οὖν is inferential or consequential in a sentence, that inference or consequence is expressed by the main verb in the sentence and not by a verb in a subordinate clause, nor by a participle, nor an infinitive. In the New Testament it is frequently translated as if the consequence belonged to a temporal or conditional clause. Οὖν always comes near the beginning of the sentence in which it is used in the New Testament, but its force belongs to the main, independent clause of the sentence even though it be separated from it by one or more subordinate clauses. It is well to remember this in trying to determine what function this word has in a sentence.

In my thesis I have developed another classification which I call "responsive." I shall not take space to give any

evidence for it. This classification may be considered the same as transitional. *In reply, in response* are phrases that represent the significance of οὖν in this classification. There are only about thirty places in the New Testament where it means this, and all of these are in John's Gospel. A few references are John iv. 9, 48 ; vi. 28, 30, 32, 34, 53.

But is there not objection to this conjunction having so many diversified translations ? Why not object to the translations of וְ and כִּי in Hebrew, then ? Or, to those for *etiam* and *autem* i Latin ? Or, to those for καί in Greek ? No doubt one of the main reasons why οὖν became obsolete sometime after the fifth century is because it had so many meanings, thus being too indefinite. At any rate it is not used in current modern Greek.

Just as with prepositions so with the Greek particles and conjunctions, the context is the final court of appeal in each instance to determine proper translations : it furnishes the best clue. However, more than one context, to be sure, is necessary to determine any particular meaning.

J. R. Mantey.

ANENT DR. RENDEL HARRIS'S "TESTIMONIES."

Dr. Harris writes so persuasively and convincingly that a student feels quite flattered at himself when he goes along with the master. Now if Dr. Harris were a German professor he would ere this have got out a ponderous volume in exposition of his doctrine of the *Testimonies*, whereas he has so far vouchsafed us only the *Leckerbissen* that have appeared in the Expositor. In the meantime I venture a pair of additions to his evidence for these Testimonies. Indeed everyone is performing a service to historical knowledge who joins Dr. Harris in his amiable crusade against those scholars—mostly wholly Greek in their

education and possessing little Semitics—who have been teaching us that the early Church was a howling wilderness as far as literature was concerned, and that in view of its boorishness we must come down as close as possible to the end of the first century to allow the development of intellect and of letters.

The first case I have in mind has not been noticed, so far as I know. It is the glaring identification in Revelation i. 14 of the Son of Man with the Ancient of Days in Daniel vii. 9, as the following parallelism shows :

Daniel. (I cite Theodotion as the closer translation) the Ancient of Days : "His clothing as white snow and the hair of his head white as wool, his throne a flame of fire."

Revelation. The Son of Man : "His head and hair(s) white as white wool, as snow, and his eyes as a flame of fire."

I have long been struck with this bold identification of the Son of Man with absolute Deity, not because it disagrees with the logical sum of New Testament Christology, but because it oversteps the usual Biblical distinction between the Father and the Son. Swete, in his Commentary, expresses a like surprise : "The transfer of this feature to the Son of Man is the more striking since Enoch adheres strictly to Daniel's account. Our writer's Christology leads him frequently to attribute to the glorified Christ attributes and titles which belong to the Father, e.g. in i. 18 ; ii. 8 ; v. 12 ; xxii. 13." But none of these references is equivalent to the present extreme case of identification. In similar vein and more curtly Bousset remarks in his Commentary : "This transfer of predicates . . . seems to be specifically of New Testament character."

Now if we read further down in the Septuagintal (not the ecclesiastical Theodotionic) text of Daniel, we discover a remarkable reading, so gross in its perversion that it might not seem to count for much in historical theology.

In v. 13 the seer beholds how "one as a son of man came and as (an) Ancient of Days (ὡς παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν) was present." Anyone who knows the English Bible recalls that he "was brought to the Ancient of Days." The parallel in Theodotion shows the source of the error, which might easily be surmised; there the original is correctly translated ἕως τοῦ παλαιοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν. In the Septuagint, which once read the same, at some point of its career (which is vouched for only by one Greek MS. and the Hexaplaric Syriac) the ἕως was changed to ὡς, with the resulting change of the following genitive to the nominative. Hence the transformation of a son of man into the Ancient of Days. The change in the Septuagint, gross as it is, is nevertheless interesting; Bludau (*Die Alex. Uebersetzung d. Buches Daniel*) does not notice it, and I can find but one reference to it, namely in Bousset's *Kyrios Christos* (1913), p. 15: "Vielleicht ist dieser Schritt (the making of a concrete figure out of the Son of Man) schon in der Übersetzung der LXX geschehen, die den Satz 'Und er gelangte (wurde gebracht) zu dem Alten' mit καὶ ὡς παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν (!) übersetzt."

One's first impression would be that the error was due to carelessness, unconsciously tinged by his theology, of some Christian scribe. But with the Christian Apocalypse citing from Daniel and expressing the very marrow of this error, we must suppose that the apocalyptist read our error in his Septuagint text (he appears to have known directly or indirectly both the Septuagint and the so-called Theodotion). The result of interest for the critic is that the error precedes the day of the Christian Church and is of Judaistic origin, and for the student of theology that this error was a proof text for the early Christians—what Dr. Harris would call a Testimony. Indeed the composite character of the Daniel citations in the Apocalypse agreeing

now with the Septuagint, now with Theodotion, sometimes composite, and sometimes independent of them, might well argue to some written and digested summary of texts.

My other case also reverts to Daniel for the Old Testament background. It occurred to me in reading Dr. Harris's all too short brochure on *The Origin of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, where, p. 24, in regard to the theme of Christ as the Wisdom and the Power of God he cites 1 Corinthians i. 24, *Χριστὸν Θεοῦ δύναμιν καὶ Θεοῦ σοφίαν*. In that essay the writer makes much of the theologoumenon of the Wisdom of God in the Old Testament and as carried down through the Christian Testimonies. But he has overlooked, with all other scholars, so far as I can judge from commentaries on hand and the Old Testament marginal references in our various Bible apparatus, the fact that St. Paul is here quoting from the Old Testament.

The combination "wisdom and might," *σοφία καὶ δύναμις*, occurs in Daniel ii. 23, but the virtues are there given by God to the seer, and hence the passage was not appropriate for citation by the marginal editors. But in a verse a little above, we read in the Aramaic, v. 20: "Blessed is the name of God from everlasting to everlasting, whose is wisdom and might." But here the Greek translations do not help much, and so again the New Testament editors found nothing to the point. The Septuagint translates, *ὅτι ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ μεγαλωσύνη αὐτοῦ*, while Codex B, which generally gives the purest form of Theodotion, along with the bulk of the Greek MSS., has, *ὅτι ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ σύνεσις αὐτοῦ*. That is, the latter has, as translation of the original *might*, *σύνεσις*, "understanding." The Lucianic revision of the Theodotion to Daniel, surviving in a definite group of MSS., has corrected the fault by its quite common method of conflation, and translates, *ἡ*

σοφία καὶ ἡ σύνεσις καὶ ἡ ἰσχυς, "wisdom and understanding and might." But these three terms are of older age than Lucian, for they are found in the Old Latin, which I believe is antecedent to and therefore independent of Lucian. Ranke's Weingarten Fragments read here *sapientia et uirtus et intellectus ipsius sunt.* Now this is not a citation from Lucian, which would make the Old Latin quite young indeed, for it has reversed the order to "wisdom and might and understanding." Rather the Old Latin gives us in the first two terms the translation of the original "Theodotion" (who is, I believe, much older than the date customarily assigned to him), and to this has been added by way of conflation the erroneous term of "understanding," which has crept in from the variant form now found in most Theodotionic MSS. It is apparent how the error *σύνεσις* came in: it is a scribal error for *δύναμις*, "might." (It is interesting that the same scribal error appears in the Lucianic text of v. 23, where *σύνεσις* is read in place of *δύναμις*.) That this is so is borne out by the lone reading of the Codex Marchalianus (Q), which has the correct *δύναμις*. Now this codex has several unique readings, some of them of great worth, and it appears here to have alone preserved the original translation. The latter was then correctly followed by the Old Latin, but an early error in the Theodotionic tradition changed *δύναμις* into *σύνεσις* (which also found its way into the Old Latin as a conflation), with the exception of Q, until Lucian made his clumsy revision by conflation.

This history tells us many things, of the worth of the Old Latin, of the antiquity and diffusion of errors in manuscriptal tradition, but to our point, it recovers for us an Old Testament quotation used by St. Paul to prove the divinity of Christ as the Wisdom and the Might of

God, or, as he transposes it, "the Might of God and the Wisdom of God." As Dr. Harris himself has said, this would be another case where more Old Testament quotations should be expressed in uncial type in the Greek New Testament. Unlike my first case, this citation is based on the correct antique reading of the Old Testament as over against the almost unanimous error of all MSS. of the ecclesiastical Greek.[1]

I might add that St. Paul's use of the text, or the use his compendium might have made of it, would have been strengthened by a plausible translation of the original, which might well have been in the mind of the Christian polemicists. Daniel ii. 20 can be translated: "Blessed is the Name of God from everlasting to everlasting, whose (i.e. the Name's) is wisdom and power." That is, the Name, following the well-known theologising of the Old Testament and of Semitic religion in general, was regarded as a Distinction in Deity, and so the passage could appropriately be interpreted as referring to Christ as the Name the Manifestation of God.

James A. Montgomery.

IS ST. PAUL IN THE GOSPELS?

The above question is probably never asked in these days, or if asked it is dismissed at once as not worth consideration; and it is further assumed that Saul of Tarsus never saw Jesus unless in visions, on the road to Damascus and on later occasions.

That Saul is not mentioned by name earlier than the death of Stephen is, of course, a fact; but that he may

[1] It should be noted for completeness' sake that Cod. Alex. has in Job xi. 20 the plus *παρ' αὐτῷ γὰρ σοφία καὶ δύναμις.*

nevertheless be one of the anonymous figures who appear in the Gospel story is a possibility, perhaps even a probability. It is not likely that a devout and zealous young man, a Pharisee, educated in Jerusalem under Gamaliel, should never have sought out so distinguished a prophet as the new Rabbi whose teaching and acts were causing so much commotion. There is an identification which occurs to me, and which must surely have occurred to others before me, though I do not remember ever to have met with it. The interpretation usually put on 2 Corinthians v. 16 ("Even though we have known Christ after the flesh . . .") is forced, since the verse has to be accommodated to the supposed fact that the apostle had never met his Master in the flesh. But what if St. Paul were the rich young ruler of Matthew xix. 16, etc., and the parallel passages? The identification would be extremely interesting, and would throw light on certain passages in *Acts* and the *Epistles* of St. Paul. There can be no certainty about the matter, but some indications point that way.

I.

1. The man who asked what good thing he should do that he might inherit eternal life was νεανίσκος (Matt. xix. 20). Saul, when first named, Acts vii. 50, is νεανίας. Of course there were innumerable young men, contemporaries of Jesus; but

2. The enquiring young man was also an ἄρχων, a word of vague meaning used of the synagogue-rulers, but also of the members of the Sanhedrin (Luke xxiii. 13, 35, etc.) Even though it be not certain that Saul had a seat in the Sanhedrin, he was evidently a man of great importance in the religious world. His errand to Damascus shows this. He, too, must have been an ἄρχων.

3. The young man in the Gospels was very rich, πλούσιος

σφόδρα, and his great possessions were what stood in the way of his religious development. That Saul was a man of some wealth, which he lost on his conversion, is a pretty general assumption; and though I do not recollect any indication of his having been "very rich," neither do I remember anything told of him which would be irreconcilable with the supposition.

4. The rich young man was zealous in his religion. The moral commandments he claimed to have kept all his life, and it may be assumed that he was not less particular in his observance of the ceremonial obligations of the Law. This also was characteristic of Saul.

II.

The number of Jewish contemporaries of Jesus of whom all the above were true cannot have been very large. They do not amount to a proof of identity, but I submit that they indicate its possibility, and if so, let us see what would follow. Supposing that, for the sake of argument, we accept the identity of Saul with the young ruler, we have

1. A reason for St. Paul's self-reproach. I do not forget his own avowed reason, that he had persecuted the Church; but how much more cogent would the reason be, that he was a persecutor against his own better judgment! When the rich young man went sorrowfully away from Jesus, may we not imagine that there was also present in him some feeling of indignation? And would he not be likely to try to justify himself by utilising every plea against his being obliged to listen to the advice given? That the Teacher had been crucified, that nevertheless His followers proclaimed Him as the Messiah—would not these be the very circumstances on which such a man would lay hold in order to stifle the accusations of his conscience? And would he not be likely to aim at vindicating himself by exhibiting activity

and zeal in putting down this pernicious heresy? We are pretty sure that from the death of Stephen Saul had been kicking against the pricks; I am inclined to think that the inner conflict had begun long before.

2. In writing to his friends in Philippi St. Paul, then a prisoner awaiting trial in Rome, asserts his contentment in spite of all privations: "I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therein to be content . . . in everything and in all things have I learned the secret both to be filled and to be hungry, both to abound and to be in want" (iv. 11, 12). Was his mind going back to the time when Christ bade a certain rich man sell all that he had, and give to the poor? And had he found out that the loss of wealth is not a very terrible loss after all?

3. St. Paul's address to the presbyters of the Church in Ephesus, whom he had invited to meet him at Miletus, closes by quoting the Lord's words, not otherwise recorded, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." He had himself, he says, given them an example, by labouring with his own hands. Like other Jewish youths of good social position he had learned a trade, and the practice of it enabled him to live, and to help others, when he had suffered the loss of all things for Christ's sake. The saying which he quoted had been found true in his own experience.

III.

"In my belief," writes Dr. Hastings Rashdall in *The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology*, p. 106, "the influence of the character, example, and teaching of Jesus—particularly His moral teaching—upon the mind of St. Paul was much more powerful and important than it is at the present moment fashionable to admit." If St. Paul had indeed as a young man made "the great refusal" he had actually "known Christ after the flesh," and had had opportunities

which have not hitherto been recognised. I do not claim to have demonstrated an incontrovertible fact, but I suggest that there is sufficient ground for considering whether indeed the rich young ruler may have been Saul, born in Tarsus, but educated in Jerusalem. If at one time he had refused to part with his great possessions, at a later date he was glad to suffer the loss of all things for the Son of God, who loved him and gave Himself for him. May we think that he who was "not far from the Kingdom of God" at last found his way in, and was the means of bringing in innumerable others? Difficult to break down at first, when at last he yielded the surrender was complete.

G. E. FRENCH.

THE CHRIST—A POINT OF VIEW.

SELF-EMPTYING and humility were the constant marks of the thirty years' silence of Jesus of Nazareth. When He broke that silence His beatitudes were at once given to the poor and humble. Before He was born (while yet incarnate within His mother), she had sung the *Magnificat* whose breath is exultant meekness and lowliness. In that same spirit she had trained Him. The outcome awoke the enthusiastic fervour of His cousin, the Baptist. The intimacy of early years qualified the new Elijah to promise Israel a new start in Jesus: "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." The reformer, fervent in spirit to impatience, paid homage to Jesus as having the balancing gift of gentleness, meekness and patience—truly the Lamb of God. Therefore "He must increase, I must decrease," and "the latchet of His shoes I am not worthy to unloose." May we not also see the unassertive strength of the Son of Mary behind the witness

of those early days, "Whatsoever He saith unto you, do it"? for the meek inherit the earth. This witness marked the day on which He passed from home life into the new life of unambitious ministering. He took upon Him the form of a δοῦλος and His symbol is the towel, the girt garment, and the basin. On Maundy Thursday His life is summed up as the lowliest, coming to His throne by service. The next day it is the utmost humiliation of the Cross, and the fruit of it—water and blood—washing—bathing—cleansing—and strengthening, by means of His life. The washing of feet and the cleansing with the precious blood were among the beginnings of things (Acts i. 1). From heaven that service is continued while the Christ comes nearer and nearer to His complete enthronement. Thus, as Dr. Westcott says, "Scripture teaches us to see how the Son reached His heritage in spite of the self-assertion of man, whose nature He took to Himself." The one thing our Lord utterly refused for Himself was self-assertion—the putting forward of any claim to what was to be His, though not His until He had won it. His baptism brought Him the first great vision of His Sonship,—a baptism which was the true Epiphany,—a far greater Epiphany than any Magi visits. For the significant Epiphany was His Sonship, witnessed to by the heavenly Voice when now by complete lowliness "the leader in the way of righteousness" had earned the revelation: "This is My beloved Son." But all privilege brings temptation. Here was the adversary's lever—the πού στῶ by which to manifest a self-assertion. Inside the Sonship our Lord discerned the Messiahship. The lever opened it up and showed the Christ vision, but as a thing not to be grasped at (Phil. ii. 6), for "a man's reach must exceed his grasp." Jesus must win His place. Beginning His fight He is with the wild beasts. Daniel's vision of the five kingdoms recurs—

in the self-assertion possibility which would repeat the rule of the lion, the bear, the leopard, and the hybrid monster. This sort of thing, as the outcome of self-assertion power, our Lord rejects. He chooses the human reign, with its outcome—the saints of the Most High to reign with Him. And this was what, much later, St. John saw and wrote of when he heard the great voices in heaven saying: "The kingdom of the world is become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ." The All-Sovereign God Who holds fast (παντοκράτωρ), and has control over everything (in times of quickest change and revolution), gave all authority to His ascending Son (St. Matt. xxvii. 18), and as His Viceroy on earth the Christ by now had won His place, the Messianic Kingdom was begun, and to St. John, by foreshortening, was accomplished.

In the early days of the Son of Man's ministering St. Andrew, Nathanael and St. Simon (Zelotes) were quick to discern what was latent in Jesus—the Messianic nature. (For the Talmud witnesses that the men of Galilee were characteristically devout, and the pure in heart in seeing God see His hand at work.) But their idea of the Christ was crude. No one but Jesus Himself saw the true content of the Christ-claim and hope. It was entirely His insight that united prophecy and psalm and law (πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως) in Messianic bearings, and together with apocalyptic touches focussed them in one Person. Of quick understanding in the fear of the Lord this one Person was "the leader in the way of righteousness," founding a Kingdom, and at the same time the Servant of the Lord (παῖς, as in Acts), the Man of sorrows who bare the sin of many and whose soul was made an offering for sin. In our Lord's day Rabbinical Judaism avoided the personal headship of the Messianic Kingdom and put the emphasis on the Kingdom itself. Some Old Testament Prophets,

such as Zephaniah, had done likewise. So also our Apocrypha (2 Esdras) and Philo took the same line. But popular feeling, floating tradition, or folklore, if you will, put the emphasis the other way and sought a leader, a personal Christ. Apocalyptic literature sided with the popular cult, though the significance of this is best understood when we bear in mind Dr. Sanday's warning, that these books do not represent the main current of Jewish religious life. The Book of Enoch (c. 70 B.C.) tells in its Similitudes of the Son of Man seated on the throne of His (Messianic) glory and judging the earth before beginning His era of righteousness. The Psalms of Solomon (70–40 B.C.) tell of an earthly ruler, the son of David, the Lord Christ (but without divine attributes), who will cleanse Jerusalem from all impurities, and bring back into Palestine the Jews of the Dispersion. Our Lord then found both these schools of Messianic thought living at high pressure in His day, and with pent up passion behind each. The utmost caution on His part was needful in dealing with the Mahdi-like hopes and the oligarchy expectations of populace or party. Our Lord's view of the Messianic content we know, and His method of attaining that content we can estimate from His text in the synagogue sermon at Nazareth. Note, then, His first public claim to personal ascendancy, occurring in the very synoptic that makes so much of the Kingdom. "All things have been delivered unto Me of My Father, and no one knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal Him." This claim is soon followed by the further self-revelation: "I am the living Bread, the living Water, the Light of the world, the Good Shepherd, the Resurrection and the Life." And yet all the time no word about the Christ. In private indeed, and to an alien, He had said, "I am He"—the Messiah (St. John iv. 26). That was very early days; but

it stands alone, and it is consonant with the lapse into silence to take the claim as having been "in posse" and not "in re." The "re" can, of course, be seen in the great prayer of intercession ("Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent"). For by then He was winning the right to the name. Consecrated to the throne of the Cross, He would reign from there in all the Christ-grace and love. Long before, St. Peter had voiced the belief of a select few: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." And it was no outcome of our Lord's teaching. It was the revelation by the Father. (St. Matt. xvi. 17.) Our Lord exultingly accepted the confession as true. For He was well on to earning the right. But until Gethsemane and Calvary the Messianic content was not filled up, and the claim was not put forward by Him—neither in private nor public.

And here we note a point in the Judas story which has been a standing wonder. The Master's enemies were, at the end, hunting for evidence that would condemn Him. Judas volunteered to be guide to them that took Jesus; but why was his pay so trifling? High priests would pay well for evidence. They felt sure Judas could give the very proofs they wanted so sorely. But bad as he was he refused to lie. The price of blood was, Jew-like, beaten down. Paymasters were angry in disappointment. Judas could say nothing, for there was nothing to say. "I ever spake openly to the world, and in secret have I said nothing." There was no doctrine of reserve—no concealment—no esoteric revelation of His Christ claim. All had been safeguarded. "Whatsoever ye hear in the ear, proclaim on the housetops" (St. Matt. x. 27). There was no secret society. He propagated no principle which shunned the light of day. Thus the High Priest was driven to extract a confession of the Christ claim from Jesus Himself: "I adjure by the living God that Thou tell us whether Thou

be the Christ." He who had at Capernaum headquarters declared Himself the living Bread, had by now broken the bread, had laid down His life of Himself in the Holy City. Therefore the climax of claim could be given now: "Thou hast said, Henceforth ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power and coming on the clouds of heaven." Later Jews described the Messiah as the Son of the Cloud. It remained only that the King on His altar should with bowed head say τετελέσται. The τέλος, the goal, has been reached—human self-effacement was finished. The Christ had come to His own. The Church immediately caught up the Christ name. Emmaus hears the Christ unfolding the one method by which the Christ could alone enter into Messianic glory. With a rush as of the letting out of waters the Church gives its witness to the Christ. The Day of Pentecost is the day of the rushing mighty sound. St. Peter declares the Resurrection of Christ, and how God hath made Jesus both Lord and Christ. The Book of the Acts rings with the great name, and the wit of Antioch is quick to nickname by the dominant sound "Christians." St. Paul's Epistles are crowded with Christ, 380 times as against forty-seven for the Jesus name by itself.

The first advent was truly a preliminary to the Christ reign, and was the time when its true content was filled up in acts that earned the name. Can we wonder after the suspense of agelong waiting, and the long drawn out battle between belief and unbelief, humility and pride, love and selfishness, Christians antedated the Parousia? and Apostles misunderstood how the Christ was using the newly-won authority? To them a speedy return meant a speedy taking up of His Messianic work. Presently they saw that His work was most effectual already; and the Church understood that the Christ is reigning. So then the Mes-

sianic reign began from the moment when τετελέσται sounded out. The climax to that long reign from heaven will be the great judgment of the world. The Christ is now our ruler. In the world we are to have tribulation, not a material millennium. But His great deliverance of men is exceeding deep. The devout Simeon could but imperfectly see it. He who saw the Resurrection implied in the communion of the God of Abraham, saw also lowly service reaching the mark of the high calling, and saw the Christ in the crucified—not in a Judas Maccabæus. St. John saw the Christ in vision in the midst of the seven lamps and wearing a garment down to His feet. Dr. Hort comments: "So the gods were represented in a ποδήρης. The colour was purple" [the royal colour of love], but the purple is of a Saviour's blood. For He is the Christ of the Church militant.

On the day of controversy in Holy Week our Lord said to His opponents, "What think ye of Christ? Whose Son is He?" As often before, so again on Palm Sunday, "Son of David" had been the salutation to Him. The lowliness of the beast of burden with its unwarlike connotation was itself an apology. The time to speak came, and Jesus led them into a hopeless Christological *cul de sac*. They gave the regulation catechism answer with its letter-killing correctness, "The Son of David." "Inadequate," He cries, for "How does David call Him Lord?" Mere sons of David are apt to turn out very disappointing Solomons. He who earns the Christhood traces to more than that, and is David's Lord. David united Judah and Ephraim. Alas, the undoing that began in the divisions that followed his great sin. Jesus unites the human race, blotting out sins, making all things new; and when everything has been subdued to the Father there comes a new wonder. Supreme lowliness has begun and continued till it gained

Christhood. Then τετελέσται will be heard again. The first time the Messianic reign began; the second time marks the close of that reign. Then the Son Himself, subject to the Father, surrendering His kingdom, that God may be all in all; the Monarchy of the Father, the unity of the whole.

In that day Christ will be no longer Christ, but for ever the God-Man bearing the wounds of His love.

H. Gibbon.

ARAMAIC BACKGROUND OF THE SYNOPTISTS.

Are the Synoptic Gospels that we possess a genuine Greek composition without any Semitic background, or are they a Greek elaboration of previous Aramaic sources? It is well known that the answer to this question has divided the textual critics into two distinct groups: the Hellenists and the Semitists. The former believe that everything in the Synoptists is originally drawn up in what they call Hellenistic Greek or *Κοινή*, while the latter deem it probable to assume, as a safe base for the explanation of many linguistic difficulties, antecedent Aramaic sources.

Which of these two schools is likely to win the day it is rash to decide, as the question depends a great deal on the degree of personal knowledge that each individual possesses in Hellenism or Semitism; in other words, the point at issue is, in a few cases, more subjective than objective. So it is, in our judgment, useless to talk of Aramaisms in the Gospels to exclusively Greek scholars without a good working knowledge of Aramaic; they will not listen to them, because they do not even understand the language which has given rise to them. I perused many books written by such scholars, and I was struck by the erudition which

some of them displayed in the field of Greek literature and papyrology. They were eager to show that the meaning of such and such a word which had formed the theme of the controversy was Homeric, or if not so fortunately placed, was at least at home in the *Κοινή*. The *Κοινή* is responsible for our difficulties, they would almost say, let us, therefore, make an exhaustive study of it by means of the newly discovered papyri and of all the other contemporary documents. Here, as elsewhere, they appeared to resort to *in dubio melior est conditio possidentis.*

That their saying contains a profound truth few critics will deny: by all means let us make a thorough study of the *Κοινή* and direct all its most modern appliances to the solution of our linguistic problem; but, on the other hand, let us us not ask from it more than it can give us; *nemo dat quod non habet.* Can all the linguistic difficulties found in the Gospel be really explained by a mere historical knowledge that the words and expressions used in the evangelical sentence are found in Homer, or in a bit of papyrus recently discovered in Egypt, or in some ostraca unexpectedly unearthed by an Oriental archæologist? To my mind the difficulties of the sacred text are inherent in the general meaning of the phrases and are not of the domain of the outer form of the words, and in the sphere of pure lexicography; whether we side with Moulton and Deissmann for a Greek original or with Wellhausen and Dalman for an Aramaic ancestry, we shall always find our interpretations beset with difficulties. But if we broaden the outlook of our research and try to reach in the language the mentality of the superhuman man who constitutes the subject of our enquiry, we may be able to discern that unhappily the *Κοινή* is not such an effective panacea for all our linguistic ills.

In this respect we may quote the following sentence from

Dr. E. Hatch[1]: "The great majority of New Testament words are words which, though for the most part common to biblical and to contemporary secular Greek, express in their biblical use the conception of a Semitic race, and which must consequently be examined by the light of the cognate documents which form the LXX." Dr. Robertson[2] has tabulated this citation in the section termed by him "the Old View," but will the learned Hellenist attach to it the label "antiquated" if worded in the following terms? "Some of the New Testament sentences are sentences which, though for the most part common to biblical and to contemporary secular Greek, express in their biblical use the conceptions of a Semitic race, and which must consequently be explained and examined by the light which may be thrown on them by the vernacular of the men who wrote them"

In the ensuing pages I have collected a few difficult verses of the Gospels and tried to apply to their interpretation the theory of an Aramaic background in the way just enounced. I have read a great amount of literature bearing on the subject, and have not noticed that any scholar has so far drawn attention to them, but to be in a position to read every word written on this theme in all theological magazines is almost an impossibility; if, therefore, it can be proved in the result that in a given case what I believed to be a new hypothesis had already been set forth by a previous writer, to him I would readily and gladly give all the credit due to a first pioneer in the field of textual criticism. The exposition will be simple and stripped as much as possible of all morphological technicalities, for which I refer the reader to my Aramaic Grammar entitled: *Clef de la langue Araméenne* (1905).

[1] *Essays in Biblical Greek*, 1889, p. 34.
[2] *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, pp. 24–25.

MATTHEW X. 12–13.

"And when ye come into an house, salute it, and if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it; but if it be not worthy, let your peace return to you."

We discern in this verse two cases of Aramaism which it would be difficult to explain through Greek; their sequence may be paralleled as follows:—

1 { Salute it, ἀσπάσασθε αὐτήν
  { Your peace, εἰρήνη ὑμῶν

2 { let come, ἐλθέτω
  { let return, ἐπιστραφήτω.

The word "peace," which is repeated twice in the second member of the sentence, is certainly dependent on the verb *salute* of the first member: Salute, . . . and your peace. . .

It is well known that the form of salutation used among the Semitic Arabs, Arameans and Hebrews is "Peace be with you," answering to our "good morning" and "good evening." From this form of salutation a verb has been coined to express the idea in a concise form. So that the phrase of the sacred text really means:

Salute it, and if the house be worthy, let your *salutation* come upon it; but if it be not worthy, let your *salutation* return to you.

The Greek translator, by using two words to express the Semitic sequence, has missed the right interpretation of the words used by the Master, and has somewhat obscured an easy and genuine form of Semitic greeting.

The second difficult phrase in the Greek text is the use of the form "*let it come*," "*let it return*," for which one fails to perceive any reason. Rendered back into Aramaic the form of the verbs will be in the future tense, *it will come, it will return*, which has both the meaning of a cohortative and of a simple future-aorist; this simple future-aorist

removes all harshness found in the Greek text, and gives us the following harmonious verse:

"And when ye come into an house, salute it,[1] and if the house be worthy, your salutation[2] will come upon it; but if it be not worthy, your salutation[2] will come back upon you."

That this is the right explanation of these two verses is borne out by Luke x. 5–6, in which the original Aramaic is better translated, and the contrast between *peace* and *salutation* more clearly maintained, although the whole rendering is possibly less literal than that of Matthew x. 12–13. Luke's statement is as follows:

"And into whatsoever house ye enter first say, Peace be to this house. And if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it; if not, it shall turn to you again."

The divergences in the form of the verbs found in Matthew and in Luke are, therefore, to be sought in a common Aramaic original which had the two meanings adopted by the Evangelists respectively. We may also note that the expression "son of peace" (υἱὸς εἰρήνης) used by Luke does not differ substantially from the phrase "worthy of peace" adopted by Matthew, because the Aramaic *bar shalama*, "son of peace," really means a man worthy of salutation, or greeting.

Matthew xi. 19.

"The Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they say, Behold a man gluttonous, and a winebibber. . . . But wisdom is justified of her children": but Codd. ℵ and B have "of her works." The parallel verse of Luke vii. 34–35 has only "of her children."

In this verse there is a linguistic difficulty which can hardly be accounted for by the hypothesis of a Greek

[1] Or: give peace to it. [2] Or: your peace.

original: it chiefly arises from the curious variant found in Cod. Sinaiticus and Cod. Vaticanus, where for

children τέκνων

we have works ἔργων

We believe that this variant could not have occurred in Greek, where the two words are graphically so different from each other. In translating the word back into Western Aramaic we will have *'abdaya*,[1] which means "servants," "children" if read with a vowel on the first consonant, and "works" if read with a vowel on the second consonant. Since the vowels did not exist in any Semitic language in the first century of our era, the word might have easily been read in both ways; even in our days this same word is often misread in Eastern Aramaic or Syriac. All this is so clear as to be almost in a position to dispense with further explanation.

Matthew xiii. 13.

"Therefore speak I to them in parables, because (ὅτι) they seeing see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand.

In a parallel passage Mark (iv. 11–12) has, "All (these) things are done in parables, in order that (ἵνα) seeing they may see and not see, and hearing they may hear and not understand."

In going back to Isaiah vi. 9, from which the quotation is drawn, we notice that the Hebrew text does not afford any ground for the various readings found in the two Evangelists, because literally translated it simply means, "Hearing hear ye, and hear not, and seeing see ye, and see not."

Now let us turn to the Aramaic Targums. The same passage which contains hearing, and seeing, instead of

[1] In Eastern Aramaic *'abdai* and *'badai* respectively.

having an imperative-aorist construction, as in the Hebrew text and in its dependent Peshitta, is worded in the present participle:

"Who hearing [they] hear and understand not, and seeing [they] see and know not."

Matthew, therefore, is nearer to the Aramaic Targums in following the present participle or the indicative mood, and Mark is nearer to the Hebrew text in using the subjunctive mood. But is it possible to suppose that at the time of writing Mark was having an eye fixed on the Hebrew of Isaiah, and Matthew on its Aramaic Targum? So far as the second member of the question is concerned, our answer, for obvious reasons, must almost certainly be in the negative. How, then, can the difficulty be removed?

If we translate the Evangelical sentence into Aramaic, we will have the letter *Dalath* used before the verbs meaning "to hear" and "to see"; now this letter has precisely the meaning both of *because* (ὅτι) and of *in order that* (ἵνα), and each evangelist translated it in the sense which was more suitable to his philological taste. Having erroneously rendered it by ἵνα, Mark felt compelled to use subjunctives for the more reasonable indicatives adopted by Matthew. The general meaning of the whole sentence when translated into Aramaic is to the effect that these people are so fanatic and obstinate in their opinions that, although hearing and seeing, they deafen and blind themselves to what is heard and seen, as though they had heard and seen nothing.

Matthew xiv. 2.

"And said unto his servants, This is John the Baptist, he is risen from the dead, and therefore the powers work in him." The same statement in exactly similar terms is found in Mark vi. 14.

We will not unduly dwell on the well-known fact that the

word δυνάμεις, which is here, as elsewhere in the first Gospel, used in the sense of "miracles," is the exact translation of the Aramaic *hail* used precisely in the sense both of "power" and "miracle"; but we will draw attention to the somewhat curious statement that the powers are active (ἐνεργοῦσιν) in (ἐν) Him. The difficulty which we want to clear up bears on

are active, ἐνεργοῦσιν
in Him, ἐν αὐτῷ

Is it natural to say that powers are active in a person in the sense that he is working miracles? In the *Expositor's Greek Testament* Dr. Dods states, I do not know on what authority, that "these powers which were active in him were those of the invisible world, vast and vague in the king's imagination." Is it really necessary to have recourse to mystical interpretations which will involve us in the mental intricacies of the mind of a man dead two thousand years ago?

Let us translate the sentence into Aramaic and see if we can throw some light upon it. Instead of the awkward ἐν, we shall have the particle *baith* in the sense both of *in* and *by*; and for "are active" we shall have the passive of the verb *'bad* in the sense of "to be wrought" (passive), and "to be active" (intransitive), so that the meaning of the sentence really is:

"He is risen from the dead, and that is why miracles are wrought by him."

Matthew xxiii. 25.

"Woe to you scribes and Pharisees, hyprocrites! for ye cleanse the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full (ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμουσιν) of rapacity (or extortion) and wantonness (or excess)."

Luke xi. 39 has:

"Now ye Pharisees cleanse the outside of the cup and the platter, but your inside (τὸ ἔσωθεν ὑμῶν) is full of ravening and wickedness."

We have put these two verses side by side in order to draw attention to two seemingly contradictory statements which they contain when compared with each other. In speaking of cups and platters Matthew says that they are full of rapacity and wantonness, while Luke more appropriately refers his adjectives to Pharisees who are full of wickedness. In Matthew the wickedness is inherent in the cups, and in Luke in the Pharisees who are compared with these cups. The second difficulty arises out of the text of Matthew, in which the reader finds to his amazement that the abstract adjectives wicked, wanton, rapacious, have been applied to such material utensils as cups and platters.

If we translate the sentence back into Aramaic, both difficulties will vanish. We know that in this last language the attributive adjectives are used without any pronouns, which are supplied to the reader exclusively by the context. In this case the Aramaic attributive adjective would be *malain*, which can linguistically be referred either to scribes and Pharisees or to cups and platters. In his translation Matthew referred it to the latter, but noticing the internal weakness of such an attribution, Luke more ingeniously ascribed it to the former. The divergence in both narratives is to be found, therefore, in a common Aramaic background. A third point emerges clearly from this translation, and this is the fidelity of Matthew in following his original. Having taken the adjective *malain* as referring to cups, he did not feel justified in modifying his adjectives "wanton and rapacious," and changing them into something more suitable to these cups, because the original Aramaic vocables

lying before him did not allow him to adopt such a far-fetched rendering.

Matthew xxiv. 26.

"Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert, go not forth: behold (he is) in the chambers, believe (it) not."

In reading carefully the verses which precede and follow this sentence, the reader will doubtless notice that the phrase in the desert (ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ) used in it is misplaced, and does not stand in good contrast with the phrase "in the chambers." There is nothing in the context which would make us think of a desert, but only of a word answering to the description of "outside," "in public," "in the streets," as contrasted with "inside," "in the chambers."

Let us render the words back into Aramaic. The first word which will come to the mind of an Aramaic scholar would be *bar*, which, although meaning primarily desert,[1] possesses also the meaning of "outside,[2] out of doors, in the open." Matthew, who, like all Semites, seems to have been fond of literal translations, understood it in its first meaning, and rendered the general parallelism of his sentence somewhat weak.

Matthew xxiv. 51.

"The Lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for (him) . . . And shall cut him asunder, and set his portion with the hypocrites."

There is here a difficulty which to our knowledge no critic has tried to solve. It is, indeed, not very clear how a lord can *cut asunder* (διχοτομήσει αὐτόν) his servant, and then

[1] Cf. the corresponding Arabic root.

[2] It is the only word used in Syriac to express "outside, in the open," etc

appoint him his portion with some other men. The idea is obviously an impossible one. Let us see if we cannot find an Aramaic word which can solve the problem. The ordinary verb to express "to cut off" is *pasaḳ*, but this same verb has also the meaning of "to single out, to separate, to set aside." In adopting this second sense of the verb, we shall have the following good translation of the whole evangelical text:

"The Lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for (him) . . . And shall single him out and set his portion with the hypocrites."

Here, as elsewhere, the difficulty does not lie in the words spoken by Christ, but it is to be attributed to the rendering of those words into a language foreign to that of Christ.

A. Mingana.

THE MISUSE OF THE TERM "LAMB" IN THE E.V.

THE word "lamb" occurs in the E.V. not far short of two hundred times; this is in part due to references in the original text to young sheep in particular, but only in part; it is largely, indeed very largely, due to mistranslation, or misuse of the term. A lamb is a sheep, and not a goat, yet the translators of Exodus xii. 5 imply that it may be either. Again, a lamb in ordinary English usage is a sheep that is under a year, or rather even under eight or nine months, old; but there are passages where the E.V. uses "lamb" though the context implies that the animal in question may be of any age. But not only is the E.V. frequently misleading, even the dictionaries and encyclopædias are at fault: e.g., the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (iv. 4441) states that *keseb* is "a lamb of one or two years" and *ṭaleh* "an older lamb," a lamb, shall we say then ?, of three or four years! Under these circumstances it may be worth while to survey the extent of the misuse of the term, and to consider in particular some of the passages concerned.

Of all the terms rendered in E.V. by "lamb" that which most clearly corresponds to what is ordinarily understood by the word in English is, in spite of the remarkable statement just cited fron the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, *ṭaleh*: the *ṭaleh* was a sheep, not two or three years old, but sufficiently young to be carried (Isa. xl. 11), if not still a suckling (1 Sam.

vii. 9). Of the remaining passage (Isa. lxv. 25) where this term occurs I will speak below.

Another term that seems to correspond, at least approximately, to "lamb" is *kar*, though it is difficult to determine precisely how this term differs from *ṭaleh*; in Amos vi. 4 it is coupled with fatted calves, and also in Deuteronomy xxxii. 14 and 1 Sam. xv. 9 it is easy to detect an allusion to the delicacy of the flesh of the animals so termed. In 2 Kings iii. 4 the *karim* are distinguished from rams. Possibly *kar* [1] was used by preference when the lamb had attained a somewhat greater age than was commonly covered by *ṭaleh*.

With these two terms available for use of the young of sheep we need not be surprised if the Hebrew of the Old Testament should prove to contain no other term for "lamb," and it is certain that some of the terms so rendered in E.V. had a much less restricted meaning. It may be added that it is by no means easy to find renderings for some of these terms at once convenient and accurate, and we might therefore tacitly acquiesce in the inaccurate rendering lamb, were it not that this in some cases is apt to obscure to an unnecessary extent the finer shades of the meaning in the Hebrew, and in others to contaminate certain ideas in or derived from the Old Testament with wrong associations.

The difficulty of rendering the terms in question rests on a Hebrew classification of animals different from ours, which brings under a single term what we only cover by means of two. The kine or large cattle are *baḳar*, the sheep

[1] Other occurrences of *kar*, E.V. *lamb*, are to be found in Isa. xvi. 1, xxxiv. 6, Jer. li. 40, Ezek. xxvii. 21, xxxix. 18. But in Isa. xvi. 1 the text is doubtful, and I feel no certainty that *karim* is rightly read in xxxiv. 6 or Ezek. xxxix. 18; in both passages *parim* bulls would go better than lambs with the rams and he-goats (*'attudim*, parallel to *parim* in Ps. l. 9).

and goats *together*, i.e. the small cattle, are *ṣôn* ; the flocks of the ancient Hebrews, like those of the modern Bedawin, normally contained both kinds of small cattle—sheep and goats. Obviously, then, this collective term *ṣôn* is a difficult word to render at once briefly and accurately ; if, after the common practice of the E.V., we render by "sheep," we disregard completely one element included in the Hebrew term ; and if we adopt a rarer equivalent of the E.V. and render by "flock," while we no longer exclude, we scarcely suggest goats. It is even more difficult to render satisfactorily the term which Hebrew uses to indicate a single head of the small cattle without regard to age, sex or kind. *Shôr*, any member of the herd, an ox of either sex and any age, is adequately and conveniently rendered by "ox" : but how are we to render *seh*, which, meaning any one of the flock, may be not only a sheep of either sex and any age—a ram, a ewe or a lamb—but also a goat of either sex and any age ? In translation we may often, when no serious misunderstanding is likely to arise, prefer a single word that is an inadequate equivalent to a clumsy or cumbrous combination of terms ; but there are degrees of inadequacy, and there is really no excuse for unnecessarily increasing the inadequacy without any gain in brevity or convenience ; and yet this is what the E.V. frequently does. "Sheep" is an inadequate rendering of terms that cover both sheep and goats of either sex and any age ; but "lamb," frequently adopted in the E.V., is much more inadequate, without being in any way more suitable ; and the R.V. in Numbers xv. 11, and frequently elsewhere, still further increases the inadequacy by rendering "he-lamb." [1]

The collective term *ṣôn* is only once rendered in E.V.

[1] No doubt under the influence of the following בכבשים ; but even so unjustifiably, as I shall show later.

by lambs, viz. in Exodus xii. 21, and then with the margin "or, kids." This should strictly be "sheep" with margin "or, goats"; but if the theory which has doubtless affected the rendering and which I discuss below, that the passover victim was always required to be less than a year old were correct, there would be nothing very seriously misleading in the inaccurate rendering of E.V. Much more frequently is the singular term *seh* rendered lamb[1]: sometimes this might be to some extent defended on similar grounds to those just suggested for Exodus xii. 21; in others no such defence can be offered. Thus in Genesis xxii., Isaac in E.V. enquires, Where is the lamb for the burnt-offering? Abraham replies, God will provide a lamb, whereas actually God provides a ram, and that, in the Hebrew at least, means a mature sheep. Obviously "sheep," though itself not an entirely adequate, yet in the particular passage a sufficiently approximate rendering, would be far better than "lamb" in verses 7, 8. In 1 Samuel xvii. 34 the substitution of "flock" for "sheep," and "one of the flock" for "a lamb out of the flock" would secure accuracy without loss of smoothness in the translation, and similarly in Leviticus xxii. 23 the substitution of "any of the herd or the flock" for "either a bullock or a lamb" would retain in English the right relation to verse 21. Far more important than these passages is Isaiah liii. 7, both on its own account and on account

[1] Gen. xxii. 7, 8, Exod. xii. 3–5, xiii. 13, xxxiv. 20, Lev. v. 7, xii. 8, xxii. 23, Num. xv. 11, 1 Sam. xvii. 34, Isa. liii. 7, lxvi. 3, Ezek. xlv. 15. Other renderings of *seh* in R.V. (A.V. generally being the same) are (1) small cattle—very accurately, but only once, Isa. xliii. 23; (2) cattle, Ezek. xxxiv. 17, 20, 22; (3) one, Gen. xxx. 32, an excellent rendering in the context; (4) sheep, Exod. xxi. 37 (xxii. 1), xxii. 3, 8, 9 (4, 9, 10), xxxiv. 19, Lev. xxvii. 26, Deut. xvii. 1, xviii. 3, xxii. 1, Josh. vi. 21, Judges vi. 4, 1 Sam. xiv. 34, xv. 3, xxii. 19, Ps. cxix. 176, Isa. vii. 25, Jer l. 17—in all these cases the Hebrew covers goats as well as sheep, as R.V. occasionally and A.V. rather more frequently points out in the margin; (5) ewe, Lev. xxii. 28, a bad rendering, since after *v.* 27 it suggests that the law is not applicable to goats.

of the influence it has often been supposed to have had in creating the title the Lamb of God. In this passage neither term refers to the youth of the victim led to the slaughter, though the second does refer to the sex. It is curious with what persistence translators have introduced the reference to youth which is not, and have excluded the reference to sex which is, there. I find, for example, that not only does the R.V. perpetuate the error of the A.V., but that e.g. Duhm, Marti, Peake do the same, and that Cheyne very remarkably, after translating rightly in the *Prophecies of Isaiah*, reverted to the erroneous translation in his later translation for the Polychrome Bible. Professor Box, however, translates accurately, for in view of the parallel we need not press for the still more general "one of the flock" in the first line—

> Like the sheep that is led to the slaughter
> And like an ewe that before her shearers is dumb.

The elimination of the clear reference in the Hebrew to *sex* is as ancient as the Septuagint, which renders the term in the first line correctly by *πρόβατον*, but that in the second by *ἀμνός*. It is true that *ἀμνὸς* is sometimes used in Greek for a female sheep, but as the Septuagint—though not, it is true, in the book of Isaiah in particular—frequently uses the distinctly feminine *ἀμνάς*, it would seem probable that in Isaiah liii. 7 the translators, whatever may have been their reason, deliberately substituted a masculine[1] for a feminine term. In relation to age, too, there is a difference, the Hebrew term implying not less than, the Greek not more than, a certain degree of maturity; but whether *ἀμνὸς* necessarily implied a sheep under a year old, and consequently an animal as immature as is implied by the English lamb is at least not clear. There is, indeed, some

[1] This is certain if the *αὐτὸν* of ℵ a.c. A. Q. is the original text. B. omits *αὐτόν*.

evidence to the contrary.[1] Into the bearing of this on the exact significance of the term "Lamb of God" I will not enter more explicitly now; a wider enquiry than the present would be requisite for the adequate discussion of this important question.

So far I have been considering the use in the E.V. of lamb as a rendering of terms which everybody is agreed do not mean lamb, but have a much wider reference. I come now to terms with regard to which the case is different, and the dictionaries, or some at least of them, are more consistently wrong than the E.V. These are the closely related forms *kebes*, *keseb* (fem. *kibsah*, *kisbah*). It is generally, and no doubt rightly, held that the two forms have the same meaning. But what is the meaning? The E.V. renders sometimes by sheep, sometimes by lamb; the dictionaries recognise only the meaning lamb, though sometimes, as in the statement already cited from the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, they go on to describe the lamb so termed as to show to the discerning reader that it is not a lamb but a sheep. The Oxford lexicon informs us that *kebes* means (1) *lambs* for sacrifice; (2) *lambs*, as grazing; (3) *lambs*, as furnishing wool for clothing; and leaves us to conclude that the word means "lambs" and nothing but "lambs."[2] It fails to draw our attention to the fact that these "lambs" give birth to lambs (Numbers xviii. 17). Again in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* we are told that *kebes* "most nearly corresponds to our 'lamb'." It merely requires a careful examination of the usage in the Old Testament to see that these statements are wrong; the

[1] Note the frequent combination in the Septuagint, ἀμνὸς ἐνιαύσιος. Van Herwerden, *Lex. Graecum Suppletorium* (cp. Moulton and Milligan, *Vocab. of the Greek Test.*, p. 16) cites Eustathius for the statement that ἀρήν agnus infra annum, ἀμνὸς annuus, ἄρνειὸς *biennis* proprie dicebantur.

[2] Similarly Gesenius-Buhl give only *Lamm* as the meaning of the term.

term *kebes* itself *means* not lamb, but sheep; as such, just like our English sheep, it was, of course, *applicable* to lambs; all lambs are sheep, but not all sheep are lambs; whether *kebes* is, as a matter of fact, frequently applied to sheep less than a year old depends on the interpretation of a particular phrase, which I will discuss later.

To appreciate the meaning of *kebes* it is well to recur for a moment to the Hebrew classification of their cattle as *bakar*, large cattle, and *ṣôn*, small cattle. Sheep and goats were regularly associated in the same flock, and are, therefore, commonly referred to together by the collective term *ṣôn*; but the distinction between the two was familiar; and it was necessary at times to distinguish between or to refer separately to the sheep and the goats. In other words, generic terms for the two different components of the flock were required; these terms were *'izzim*, goats, and *kebasim*, sheep; *kebasim* were no more necessarily young sheep, or lambs, than were *'izzim*, kids,[1] though as general terms the one might, of course, refer to lambs, the other to kids. The Old Testament has no other generic term for sheep, but a very clear example of this generic use of *keseb* is Numbers xviii. 17;[2] here the term clearly refers to sheep generically, though the particular context happens to exclude *young* sheep; in this case the E.V. renders very properly "the firstling of an ox, or the firstling of a sheep, or the firstling of a goat"; the dictionaries to which I have referred admitting only the meaning lamb would tacitly require here the ridiculous combination "the firstling of a lamb." But the wide generic sense is certainly involved also in Leviticus

[1] Or she-goats. The Oxford Lexicon is wrong in marking עז only as feminine; it is strictly a generic term, and as such is even grammatically construed as masc. at times; see e.g. Lev. iii. 12–14.

[2] Cf. Gen. xxx. 32, 35, 40, where *kesabim* in the two former verses (A.V. sheep) certainly include the mature sheep, though in the last it appears to be used of the newly-dropped lambs (E.V. lambs).

xxii. 27, though here the animals of all three kinds—ox, sheep, goat—are mentioned in the first instance in reference to the earliest possible age; again, the E.V. translates—except for the first term, which as elsewhere should be ox—correctly, "when a bullock, or a sheep, or a goat is brought forth." Again in Leviticus vii. 23, E.V. renders correctly, "ye shall eat no fat of ox, or sheep, or goat"; this prohibition extends not only, as the dictionaries would suggest, to sheep that are still lambs, but to sheep of any age and either sex. Equally wide is the permission to eat the flesh, apart from the fat, of sheep. "These are the beasts which ye may eat: the ox, the sheep, and the goat"; the Jews were not permitted to eat lamb only, and forbidden, as again the restricted meaning assigned to *kebes* in dictionaries would suggest, to eat mutton. This passage, and e.g., Leviticus xxii. 19,[1] where again E.V. rightly renders *kesabim* by sheep, should have kept the A.V. from erroneously limiting the term in Numbers xv. 11 to young sheep, and the R.V. from the double error of limiting the term to young male sheep. The law in question applies to all sheep offered as burnt offerings or peace offerings, apart from rams which are specially provided for; and though burnt offerings are limited to male animals, peace offerings (Leviticus iii.) and certain others are not, and Leviticus xiv. 10 shows that the scale prescribed in Numbers xv. 5, 6, 11 for the *kebes* or sheep applied to the female as well as to the male. It is true there is a special feminine form (*kibsah*, *kisbah*) for female sheep;[2] but the masculine plural includes sheep of both sexes, and even the masculine singular may be used where females are contemplated; so in Leviticus iv. 32: And if he bring a *kebes* (masculine), i.e.

[1] Note that "flock" (*ṣôn*) the comprehensive term in *v.* 21, takes the place of the *kesabim* and *'izzim* of *v.* 19.

[2] Of any age; cp. Lev. v. 6; a female of the flock, whether ewe or she-goat. E.V. "lamb" is obviously wrong.

a sheep (E.V. wrongly "lamb"), as his sin-offering, he shall bring a female. The usage is, of course, natural enough in the case of a term applicable to the whole class of sheep. A careful examination of Leviticus i. and iii. also illustrates the generic sense of *kebes*, and the inconsistency of the E.V. in sometimes recognising this, sometimes failing to recognise it, and so suggesting false distinctions. These two chapters in Leviticus give instructions for the conditions requisite in victims for burnt offerings (Leviticus i.) and peace offerings (Leviticus iii.). In both cases the victims may be taken from the herd (Leviticus i. 3, iii. 1) or the flock (i. 10, iii. 6); and in the case of the flock choice is perfectly free as between the two kinds of animals composing it, the sheep and the goats (i. 10, iii. 7, 12). In all cases the victim must be free from defect; for burnt-offerings there is a limitation of sex —the victim must be male, but in no case is there any limitation of age, and as a matter of fact the mature male sheep (rams, אילים) were offered both as burnt-offerings (e.g., Leviticus ix. 2) and peace-offerings (Leviticus ix. 4). The laws, alike of the burnt-offering and of the peace-offering, naturally therefore use for sheep, as for oxen and goats, a generic term; that term is *kebes*; it is rendered correctly "sheep" by E.V. in Leviticus i. 10 and should have been rendered in the same way, and not by "lamb," in Leviticus iii. 7.

The generic sense of *kebes*, then, is certain; and it will be the duty of future writers of dictionaries to give *sheep* as the meaning of the word. Ought they to add as a second meaning *lamb?* In other words, had the word originally, or did it develop, alongside of the wider, a more specific meaning? No doubt what has suggested limiting the meaning to *young* sheep is the fact that the word often occurs in enumerations together with *ayil* (the mature) male sheep, the ram; so e.g. Numbers xxviii. 11, 19; possibly also the

frequent addition to the term *kebes* of a note of age which has been variously taken to mean over a year old, or under a year old. But the use of the phrase, whichever meaning be correct, would rather seem to imply that a *kebes* might be either under or over a year old; otherwise the words would be unnecessary. But if the *kebes* might be over a year old, it was not an equivalent of the English lamb. Nor does there seem to be any sufficient ground for postulating in addition to the generic a specific sense of young sheep for *kebes*; in the enumerations referred to we may quite well, and indeed should, understand the term to include all other sheep besides the rams; and we may render Numbers xv. 11, for example, "so shall it be done in the case of each ox, or each ram, or each other animal from the flock, whether sheep or goat" (*seh bakebasim 'ō ba'izzîm*), i.e. the largest quantity of meal, etc., is required with any sacrificial victim from the herd, a medium quantity for a mature male sheep, and the smallest quantity for any female or any immature male sheep, and for any goat of either sex and any age. While, then, the generic sense sheep is well-secured for *kebes* by the usage of the Old Testament, a specific sense young sheep cannot be proved from the usage of the Old Testament, though, of course, as a generic term, *kebes includes* lambs, and may therefore be used where, as in Leviticus xxii. 21, new-born lambs are referred to.

Nor does the use of the term in other languages compel us to postulate a narrower as well as a wider meaning for the Hebrew term, still less a meaning as limited as or identical with that of the English lamb. Certainly the word occurs in some other languages, and sometimes with a meaning less wide than that of sheep; but the applications of the same terms in different languages are often different, and there are very clear instances of this in the case of terms applied

to animals in particular. For example, Arabic, like Hebrew, has a single collective term for sheep and goats; but the terms are different, in Arabic *ghanam*, in Hebrew *ṣôn*; on the other hand the Arabic *ḍa'n* (= Hebrew *ṣôn*) denotes the sheep alone in contrast to the goats. So the Arabic use of *kabš* (= Hebrew *kebes*) differs in part from, and only in part agrees, with that of the Hebrew *kebes*. Thus the *Lisân al-'Arab* says, "kabš is a male sheep whatever its age. Al-Leith says, when a lamb has shed its (teeth called) *tlanniyya*, it becomes a *kabš*, though another opinion is when it has shed its teeth named raba'iyya, i.e. in the first case in its second or third, in the latter, in its fourth year." Thus the Arabic *kabš* in its narrower sense agrees rather with the Hebrew *ayil* than *kebes*; like *ayil*, and unlike *kebes*, it is applied exclusively to males—for females a different word, *na'jat*, is used—and to males which have exceeded a certain age and reached at least a certain degree of maturity, and is therefore, again like *ayil*, applied metaphorically to leaders or defenders of an army or people or to brave men.[1]

The term *kebes*, then, in Hebrew certainly is generic and means sheep, without specific reference to age or sex; as such it is *applicable* to any sheep, young or old, male or female; but it is questionable whether, apart from the context, it ever suggested anything less wide, e.g. lamb or young sheep, or, as some[2] would suggest, sheep or lambs

[1] Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 2588 c; Baiḍawi on Qoran xviii. 82 (ed. Fleischer, i. 572, l. 7).

[2] Cornill (on Jer. xi. 19), for example, cannot regard it as purely accidental that out of 116 occurrences of *kebes* in fully 111 it is a sacrificial victim. Yet there is nothing very remarkable in this: sheep were frequent offerings, and some of the priestly writers fond of repetition. A considerable proportion of the occurrences of *kebes* are to be found in the prolix narrative of Num. vii. Passages like Gen. xxx. 32–40, Job iii. 20 and others discussed in the text show how completely generic in character the term *kebes* is. Whether in connexion with sacrifice or in purely

as sacrificial victims. In the light of this conclusion I will now examine certain passages which have commonly been supposed to refer to lambs in particular rather than to sheep in general. And first to a passage which I have myself translated in a way which I now suggest is wrong. Under the influence of the prevailing view that *kebes* meant lamb, I used the term in my translation of Isaiah xi. 6,[1] and the occurrence of "kid" in the parallel line might at first seem to suggest this meaning, if the wider sense of *kebes* were less clearly established than it is. On closer examination, however, the transition from a wider term in the first to a narrower term in the second line is seen to be significant. I should now therefore translate :

> The wolf shall dwell as a guest with the sheep,
> And the leopard shall have the same lair with the kid.

The point of the distich is this : wild beasts will cease to prey upon domestic beasts ; hostility will give way to friendship ; the domestic animals will entertain the wild beasts in their homes, and without fear allow their little ones to go to bed with these once savage and dangerous guests. Clearly in the first line a generic term, which allows us to think of the full-grown parent animals, is suitable ; it is these rather than the young that extend the hospitality and protection of their homes to the guests ; on the other hand a special term for the young in the second line is an effective and suitable climax. It is worthy of notice that in the modification of this passage in lxv. 25, where *taleh*

secular connexions it is the appropriate term to distinguish the sheep of the flocks from the goats.

[1] Also in v. 17 (p. 93). But here the generic term "sheep" is at least as suitable as "lambs." I only recall one case of the young of animals (the calf) mentioned in such pictures of desolation, viz. Isa. xxvii. 10, a difficult text. For wider terms see Isa. xvii. 2, xxxii. 14, and Ezek. xxv. 5. By emendation "kids" are introduced into Isa. v. 17b, but I pointed out in the commentary that this was uncertain ; and it becomes more so with the recognition of the right meaning of *kebes*.

(young) lamb takes the place of *kebes*, sheep, the verb and with it the *figure* changes also; the lamb does not, like the sheep of xi. 6, here play the host to the wolf, but feeds unharmed beside it; the use of a specific term for the young is as suitable and effective as in the *second* line of the distich in xi. 6. So in "I send you out as lambs in the midst of wolves" a special term for the young might well have been used, though the different renderings, in Matthew x. 16 (*πρόβατα* sheep[1]) and Luke x. 3 (*ἄρνας*, lambs), leave us uncertain whether it actually was.

Even before the recovery of the Hebrew text, the reference to lambs (*ἀμνός*) in Ecclus. xiii. 17 might have been suspected. As in the following verses the references are to dogs, hyenas, lions and wild asses generically, so here we should expect sheep, not lambs; and this is what the *kebes* of the Hebrew text implies. Unfortunately, the conventional rendering lamb is retained in the translation in Charles's *Aprocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*. The correct rendering is:

What association can wolf have with sheep?

In Hosea iv. 16 the E.V. is doubly wrong: for *parah*, as I have pointed out elsewhere,[2] is not heifer but cow. For the "stubborn heifer" and "lamb in a wide place" of E.V. we must, therefore, substitute "stubborn cow" and "sheep in a wide place." Into the difficulties of the verse I cannot enter here, except to point out that the antithesis is between the naturally more refractory bovine animal and the docile sheep; and that no special pathos or effect is sought by referring to the extreme youth of the sheep in question. So, too, in Jeremiah xi. 19, we have not, as some commentators would persuade us, the figure

[1] Cp. "gregem suum in manibus luporum malignorum" 4 (2) Esdras v. 16.

[2] *Commentary on Numbers*, p. 249.

of a pet lamb, but of sheep led by those with whom they had been familiar (*aluph*) to destruction : the sheep hear the voice of those that had so often called them to pasture, and now follow them unsuspectingly to the slaughter-house. We actually meet with the pet lamb in 2 Samuel xii. 3, but there the idea is not expressed by the term *kisbah* alone ; the noun is qualified by the adjective—" The poor man had nothing but one *little* (or *young*) ewe."

One remaining inconsistency in the E.V. renderings of *kebes* may be referred to. It is natural that a generic term for sheep should be used when the reference is to sheep as wool-bearing ; and neither in Proverbs xxvii. 26 nor in Job xxxi. 20 is there the slightest suggestion, or indeed any probability, that the fleeces of lamb only, and not of older sheep, were in the minds of the writers. E.V., however, though it gives sheep correctly in Job, gives lambs in Proverbs—an error which Toy, in the *International Critical Commentary*, repeats. The passage in Proverbs may be rendered :—

> The sheep are for (i.e. furnish you with) your clothing,
> And the he-goats for the price of a field ;
> And there will be goat's milk enough for thy food, etc. ;

that in Job—

> If his loins blessed me not,
> And he warmed not himself with the fleece of my sheep.

In the Aramaic parts of Ezra there are three occurrences of the Aramaic equivalent (*'immar*) of the Hebrew *kebes*.[1] E.V. renders the term by " lambs " ; and " lamb " is commonly given in the Aramaic dictionaries either as the exclusive meaning of *'immar*, or along with " sheep." The range of meaning may have varied[2] in the different

[1] Ezra vi, 9, 17, vii. 17, in the light, e.g., of Num. xv. 6–11.

[2] The word *'immar* of sheep or lambs does not occur in the Hebrew of the O.T. But it occurs in Assyrian (*im-me-ru*), and Delitzsch assigns to it the meanings (1) lamb, (2) sheep. In Phoenician אמר is used in the Marseilles tariff along with גדא, kid, in distinction from the יבל and

languages, and even in the different Aramaic dialects and at different periods; but "sheep" would be the preferable rendering in Ezra.

If, as I have now shown, *kebes* certainly, and probably *imm^{e}rin* in Ezra, mean *sheep*, how much misuse of the term "lamb" in the E.V. is due to the rendering of these Hebrew and Aramaic terms by lamb? If *kebes* means sheep in general and not lamb in particular, to render it by lamb, even when it refers to a young sheep, is, strictly speaking, inaccurate, though not misleading. For a sheep under a year old and a lamb are almost synonymous expressions. Is it, then, or, is it not, the case that *kebes*, though meaning sheep, happens to be used in most instances in the O.T. with reference to young sheep or lambs? The answer turns on the meaning of the phrase *ben-shanah*, literally "son of a year." In by far the larger number of occurrences[1] of the word *kebes*, the animal so termed is said to be *ben-shanah* or, *ben-sh^{e}natho*. Now what is the meaning of *ben-shanah*? Does it mean not less than a year old,[2] or not more than a year old?

Is the correct rendering of *kebes ben-shanah* (1) a yearling

עז, the mature sheep and goats; i.e. in this passage אמר is used of the lamb or young sheep. In Aramaic, or at least in some Aramaic dialects, it must have had a wider meaning than lamb, since it is applicable to mature sheep; we may note (1) in the Targums and Peshiṭta of the O.T. it renders not only *ṭaleh*, which, as we have seen, clearly means lamb, but also the wide term *seh* and the term *keseb*; (2) it occurs in many passages where the generic term for sheep is at least more obviously appropriate than a special term for lambs; so e.g. Exod. xxii. 8, 9, Targum and Peshiṭta, Mark xiv. 27; (3) the fem. form at least occurs where the meaning "lamb" is excluded and the mature sheep *alone* can be intended, and this not only in literal translation of the Hebrew text, as in Num. xviii. 17, where we have בוכרא דאמרא, "the first-born of a sheep," but also where there is no Hebrew equivalent: so in Exod. i. 15, Targum Jon. טלוא בר אמרחא, a lamb the son of a *sheep*.

[1] Exod. xxix. 38–41, Lev. ix. 3, xiv. 10, 12, 13, Num. vi. 12, 14, and in Lev. xxiii., Num. vii., xxviii., xxix., sixty-six times; Ezek. xlvi. 13, 15.

[2] LXX. commonly *ἐνιαύσιος*; and modern commentators generally, see e.g. Driver on Exod. xii. 5; *The Jewish Encyclopædia*, x. 617 b.

sheep, or a sheep one year old ; or (2) a sheep of the (or in its) first year ? The E.VV., following Jewish exegesis, adopt the second rendering : but in so doing they abandon the mode of translation adopted by them in all other cases of the same idiom. Wherever the Hebrew text says of anyone at his accession, or death, or what not, that he was a son of so-and-so many years, the E.V. invariably renders he was so-and-so many years old ; not, he was in such-and-such a year of his life.[1] The general rendering of E.V. is right, the exceptional rendering in the phrase, " a lamb in its first year " is wrong, for there are sufficient indications that " son of," followed by a definition of time, denotes the age already attained, not that which is in process of being attained : the " son of x years " means not in the xth year, but x years old. Thus the age of Levitical service is defined in Numbers iv. 3 as being " from the son of thirty years upwards to the son of fifty," and similarly elsewhere the minimum age is fixed by the same idiom at " a son of twenty-five years " (Num. viii. 24), or " a son of twenty years " (1 Chron. xxiii. 34). It is highly probable that these statements mean that the Levite reached the age of service at 20, 25 or 30 years, according to the different laws, and the age of retirement at 50, and highly improbable that the terms intended are the days on which the 19th, 24th, 29th and 49th years respectively were completed. Again, when the census is taken of the firstborn of Israel from " the son of a month " and upwards (Num. iii. 40), can this mean anything but a census of those who have attained the

[1] E.g. Gen. v. 32, xvii. 1, 12 ; 1, 2 Kings *passim*. E.VV. adhere to their usual renderings even in Gen. vii. 6, though this introduces an inconsistency with vii. 11, viii. 13, as rendered by them ; in vii. 6 (E.V.) Noah is said to have been 600 years old when the Flood came, in viii. 13 the Flood (which lasted a year) is said to have been over on the first day of Noah's 601st year ; but according to English usage the first day of the 601st year is that on which the 600th year is completed, or on which a man becomes 600 years old.

age of a month? And the meaning must be the same in Numbers xviii. 16. Similarly, "from the son of a month to the son of five years" (Lev. xxvii. 6) must mean between the ages of a complete month and five years complete.

Thus in the original meaning of the text, *kebes ben shanah* is a sheep a year old, not a sheep in its first year and consequently under a year old; it follows that the renderings of E.V. "a lamb of the first year" is wrong both in the term used for the animal and in the phrase defining the age: the animals are neither termed lambs nor, though named by a generic term for sheep, actually lambs. Thus the E.V. gives a greatly exaggerated impression of the extent to which sheep offered as sacrifice were required to be lambs: when the age is defined they are for the most part required not to be still lambs, but to have completed one year of their life.

But while the meaning of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament is thus clear, the Jewish interpretation that made of these sheep lambs is ancient; it is already found in the Mishna. The same idiom (*ben-shanah*) defining the age is used, but in connexions which show that it has changed its meaning and that in certain cases, including the definition of the age of *kebes*, "son of" no longer means having attained, but on the way to attain, a particular age. Thus in *Parah* 13 we read: "*kebasim* are sons of a year, rams (*ēlim*) are sons of two years; a son of thirteen months is invalid for (a sacrifice that requires) either a ram or a *kebes*. The son of thirteen months and a day is a ram." This is clear enough—a *kebes* is a sheep in its first year,[1] a ram a

[1] This is inconsistent, as shown above, with the use of the term *kebes* in the O.T. In particular, unless they gave a different meaning to *kebes* and *keseb*, the Rabbis overlooked Num. xviii. 17. For that passage speaks of a *keseb* as a mother, whereas, as the Mishna elsewhere distinctly recognises, the sheep does not bear young till it is "a daughter of two years," i.e. according to the Mishna usage till it has entered its second year. The

sheep in its second year, but with this limitation that for the first month of the second year it is neither one nor the other. On this definition of a *kebes* and this interpretation of *ben-shanah*, the addition of the age definition is entirely superfluous : *kebes* with or without the addition would mean a sheep in its first year, in other words, under a year old. Accordingly in the next verse the tractate *Parah* proceeds to lay down that the *kebes* required for certain offerings, whether as in the case of the Nazirite's guilt-offering (Num. vi. 12) the definition of age is added, or as in the case of the leper's guilt-offering (Lev. xiv. 11, 12), or the sin-offerings of an individual (Lev. iv. 32), it is undefined, may be legitimately offered " from the thirtieth day (of its age) inclusive." The passover victim, which, though called not *kebes* but *seh* is required to be *ben-shanah* (Exod. xii. 5), may be offered on and after the eighth day from birth.

In representing all sacrifices of sheep termed in the Old Testament *kebes*, commonly rendered ἀμνὸς in the LXX, and all sacrifices of sheep defined by other terms but with the addition of the clause " son of a year," as sacrifices of lambs from a month old, is the Mishna merely recording false exegesis, or also actual practice that had come to prevail in the last years of the Temple services ? Late Jewish practice was in some cases based on a strained exegesis, and differed from the practice originally enjoined by the law ; is the age of the *kebes* offered in sacrifice another illustration of this ? If we turn to literature, the answer is inconclusive or ambiguous. The New Testament refers both explicitly and implicitly to sacrificial sheep, but by means of terms which are in themselves less precise in

passage (*Bechoroth* iii. 1) implicitly but clearly lays down that a goat may bear young in its first year, the sheep in its second, but not earlier, cows and asses in their third, and not earlier.

reference to age than E.V. would suggest, and without adding any distinct age definition. The age suggested to and by the New Testament writers in their use of *ἀμνός* and *ἀρνίον* does not help to determine the Jewish theory or practice of the time, but itself awaits elucidation till these can be determined: interpreted in the light of the Old Testament usage the *ἀμνός* of the New Testament would probably not point to a sheep as young as the English term lamb suggests; but if Jewish practice had already changed in the direction of the Mishnic theory it might. And the same must be said of Philo's use of *ἀμνός*. The terms employed by Josephus are loose, ambiguous or conflicting. In *Ant.* iii. 8, 10, paraphrasing Numbers vii., he uses as equivalents of *kebes ben-shanah* both *σὺν ἀρνάσιν ἐτησίοις* and *σὺν ἀρνίῳ τῶν ἐτησίων*, combining the former with *ἐρίφοις* his rendering of *'attûdim*, goats which have reached maturity (cp. Gen. xxxi. 10, 12). In the two following chapters he describes the victims required by the law and still offered in his own lifetime, though these offerings had ceased a quarter of a century before he wrote: here we may reasonably expect that he interprets the laws of Leviticus and Numbers (especially Lev. i.–iii. 23, Num. xxviii., xxix.) according to his memory of the actual practice with which he had been acquainted. Unfortunately his descriptions are less clear or consistent than could be wished. Of burnt-offerings he says (ix. 1) that a private individual *θύει μὲν βοῦν καὶ ἀρνίον καὶ ἔριφον. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπέτεια*; for peace offerings (ix. 2) *τὰ αὐτὰ μὲν ζῷα θύουσιν . . . καὶ τῶν ἐπετείων πρεσβύτερα*. For the daily offering (x. 1) he says the law requires the community to offer *ἄρνα . . . τῶν αὐτοετῶν* every morning and evening; but in connexion with the additional offerings on new moons he uses the phrase *σὺν ἀρνάσιν ἐνιαυσίοις*. The use of *ἀρνός* and *ἀρνίον* instead of the *ἀμνός* of the LXX, the New

Testament and Philo might suggest that Josephus thought of the sheep required by the law as young : yet in *Ant.* iii. 9, 2 he speaks of τοῦ ἀρνὸς just after remarking that the victim in question may be *older* than ἐπέτειος, and therefore over a year old. Thus the actual time determinations given by Josephus seem to be inconsistent ; when he speaks of τῶν αὐτοετῶν , he should certainly mean that the sheep offered for the daily offering were still in their first year, that they were sacrificed in the same year of their life as that in which they were born. On the other hand by the ἀρνάσιν ἐνιαυσίοις he ought to mean sheep that are a full year old.[1]

Whatever conclusions we may draw from these statements as to the practice in the latest period of the temple at Jerusalem, we may find evidence that still later practice elsewhere rests on interpreting the phrase *ben-shanah* in the sense under a year old. Among the Jewish victims required to be of this age are the Paschal victims ; in modern Samaritan practice lambs, sheep under a year old, are used. Not all modern observers, it is true, speak on this point with equal clearness ; Stanley,[2] for example, merely calls the victims sheep, but Montgomery [3] asserts that the lambs used must have been born in the preceding month of Tishri, i.e. must be six or seven months old.

I may now sum up this discussion. Eighteen times in the E.V. lamb occurs as the rendering of words (*seh*,

[1] The contrast between αὐτοετής, still in the first year, and ἐνιαύσιος, having completed the first year, is well illustrated by Aristotle, *De An. Hist.* v. 14, where he is speaking of the earliest age at which various animals copulate and bring forth ; sheep and goats, especially the latter, copulate while still αὐτοετής ; swine copulate at eight months, the female goes with young four months, and brings forth being ἐνιαύσια. Unless Josephus is so to be taken, I can find no proof that ἐνιαύσιος lost this sense and came to mean *under a year old.*

[2] *History of the Jewish Church*, vol. i., Appendix I.

[3] T. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, p. 38.

ṣôn) which have long and generally been recognised to be applicable to animals without any reference to age. These renderings, including that of Isaiah liii. 7, are all wrong and in some cases misleading. Far more frequently, and indeed something like a hundred times, "lamb" in E.V. is a rendering of the Hebrew *kebes* or *keseb*; and these terms are commonly said in dictionaries to mean lamb, but they do actually mean sheep, especially the sheep as distinguished from the goats of a flock, and they are actually used, for example, of sheep mature enough to have given birth to lambs. In many cases, moreover, particular animals so termed are defined as being a year old and, therefore, no longer lambs. Nevertheless later Jewish interpretation, as represented certainly in the Mishna, probably also in Josephus, took the term *kebes*, especially when qualified by the phrase which originally meant having completed one year, to mean under one year old.

Possibly also the earlier practice of selecting animals that had attained one year of age for many particular offerings, including the daily offering, gave way between the age of the LXX, i.e. the third century B.C. and 70 A.D., to the practice of selecting victims which had not attained that age, or in other words lambs came to be substituted for older sheep. The term *kebes* is regularly (over eighty times) rendered ἀμνὸς in the LXX, once ἀρνίον (Lev. xi. 19), occasionally πρόβατον, occasionally also ἄρνες;[1] it is improbable that by the first, which is frequently qualified by the adjective ἐνιαύσιος, and not certain, that by the second (regarded by Josephus as capable of being

[1] Nine times in all, twice with the variant μνός. As Thackeray points out (*Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, 152, n. 2), all five occurrences of the forms of ἄρνα in the Pentateuch occur where Hebrew has the form *keseb* not *kebes*; if this is because the translators thought *keseb* a younger sheep, they were wrong; it is precisely this form that is used in Num. xviii. 17, where, a parent animal being thereby indicated, the LXX is compelled to render by πρόβατον.

ἐτήσιος) the translators intended to suggest a sheep under a year old, i.e. a lamb. The same two terms appear with sacrificial suggestion or association in the New Testament —ἀρνίον in Revelation and ἀμνὸς in John i. 29, 36, 1 Peter i. 19.[1] That the ἀρνίον of Revelation with its "seven horns" is no ordinary lamb, but suggestive of an older sheep,[2] has been frequently recognised; it is probable also, even though in the practice of New Testament times younger sheep or lambs were more frequently selected for sacrifice than formerly, that there was much less suggestion of youth, of the lamb as distinguished from the yearling, in ἀμνὸς than in the English lamb.

G. Buchanan Gray.

RICHARD BAXTER'S GOSPEL OF JOY.

In the spring of 1653 Baxter was called to deal with a member of his church at Kidderminster[3]—probably the wife of Colonel John Bridges, patron of the living, and his "dear friend"—who was troubled about her spiritual state: "because of an exceeding deadness of spirit and a want of that love to God and delight in Him and sweetness in Duty and witness of the Spirit and communion with God and other the like evidences which are found in the saints." Anyone in such a case might be sure of his instant sympathy, and he waited on her at once. But, reflecting upon what he had said, he thought well to put it into

[1] Also in Acts viii. 32 = Isa. liii. 7.

[2] On the fondness of the vernacular for diminutive forms, and the loss in these of diminutive force, see Moulton and Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, p. 78.

[3] His church was not identical with the congregation or with the body of communicants. These numbered some 1,800; whereas the church consisted of those (about 600) who avowedly took Baxter for their pastor and submitted to discipline. (See *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, Pt. II., p. 29, and Pt. I., p. 91.

writing, so that if her fears returned she might have the remedy nigh at hand.

Hence sprang one of the very best of his practical books—*The Right Method for a settled Peace of Conscience and Spiritual Comfort in* 32 *Directions*. He had set out to write no more than "one sheet of paper," but "the one lengthened to thirty"; and the "one day's (intended) work was drawn out to just a month."

It was not that his pen ran away with him—though it did, to some extent. Rather it was that his thoughts went beyond the particular case to the many others who needed similar guidance. It so happened, also, that about the same time he received letters "from learned and judicious Divines," "importuning" him to undertake something of the sort. In short, Providence seemed to be at work in a way he had learnt to understand. "As in all the removes of my life I have been still led to that place or state which was farthest from my own thoughts, and never designed or contrived by myself; so all the writings that yet I have published are such as have been by some sudden unexpected occasion extorted from me, while those that I most affected have been stifled in the conception, and those that I have most laboured in must lie buried in the dust, that I may know it's God that is the Disposer of all."

The book (540 pp. duodecimo) was finished before May 7, 1653, when he prefixed an address "to the Poor in Spirit," or May 9, when he wrote the dedication "To my much valued, beloved and honored friends, Col. *John Bridges*, with Mrs. *Margaret Bridges*, his Wife, and Mr. *Thomas Foley*, with Mrs. *Anne Foley*, his Wife"; and its publication took place during the summer. When he met Archbishop Usher in London, eighteen months later (about Christmas, 1654), the latter referred to the book, and urged him to write something of a like character for the godless multitude—a

request which bore fruit (after prolonged hesitation on Baxter's part) in *A Call to the Unconverted* (1656), the most popular of all his writings.

Most of Baxter's books are marred for the modern reader by an excessive display of logical preciseness or a too frequent digression into subjects of current controversy. Nor would it be quite true to say that *The Right Method* is an absolute exception to the rule. But it is so in a rare degree. For, in composing it, he took no thought for scholars who might "expect learning and exactness," nor had he any "Room for marginal quotations" or qualifying parentheses. His one concern was to meet the necessities of "the Poor in Spirit"; and, as he says, "so to build up Peace" in them "as not thereby to fortifie Presumption." He therefore lets his heart and mind flow through his pen in a continuous stream of clear, crisp, homely sentences, laden with every possible variety of appropriate argument and appeal. The result is a double achievement. For, while attaining to the full his practical purpose, he wrote what it is a literary pleasure to read. One is reminded of Spurgeon's sermons as perhaps the nearest modern parallel.

Baxter is always more or less autobiographical, and is largely so here—much to the advantage of the argument. Speaking, e.g., of the common prejudice against a conversion which could not refer itself to some sudden experience and definite date, he says: "For my part, I know not what God did secretly in my heart before I had the use of memory and reason, but the first good that ever I felt in my soul was from the counsels and teachings of my own father in my childhood; and I take it now for a double mercy, being gladder that he was the instrument to do me good, than if it had been the best preacher in the world" (p. 423). Thus "you may see what unconceivable thanks you owe to God,

who made education the means of your early change" (p. 422).

Again, in the wise section (pp. 424–433), which deprecates too much reliance on ability to weep for one's sins as a sign of soft or tender-heartedness, he says (p. 429) :—"Alas, if men should go to Heaven according to their weeping, what abundance of children and women would be there for one man! I'll speak truly my own case. This doubt lay heavy many a year on my own soul : when yet I would have given all that I had to be rid of sin ; but I could not weep a tear for it. Nor could I weep for the death of my dearest friends, when yet I would have bought their lives, had it been God's will, at a dearer rate than many that could weep for them ten times as much. And now since my nature is decayed, and my body languisheth in consuming weakness, and my head more moistened, and my veins filled with flegmatick watery blood, now I can weep ; and yet I never find the more tender-heartedness in myself than before. And yet to this day so much remains of my old disposition, that I could wring all the money out of my purse easier than one tear out of my eyes, to save a friend or rescue them from evil : when I see divers that can weep for a dead friend, that would have been at no great cost to save their lives."

But what is most noteworthy, in view of a widespread impression to the contrary, is the "sweet reasonableness" of his gospel. He was reputedly a Calvinist, and he did not disown the name. No thorough-going Calvinist, however, could have written as he does here.

First and last—he says—peace of heart depends on a right idea of God, and His relation to you in Jesus Christ.

"Consider that even under the terrible law when God proclaims to Moses His own Name, and therein His Nature—Exodus xxxiv. 6, 7—the first and greatest part is, *The*

Lord God, Mercifull and Gracious, longsuffering and abundant in Goodness and Truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin. And He hath sworn that He hath no pleasure in the death of a sinner, but rather that he return and live. Think not, therefore, of God's Mercifulness with diminishing, extenuating thoughts, nor limit it by the bounds of our frail understandings : for the heavens are not so far above the earth, as His thoughts and ways are above ours. Still remember that you must have no low thoughts of God's Goodness ; but apprehend it as bearing proportion with His Power. As it is blasphemy to limit His Power, so it is to limit His Goodness " (pp. 17, 18).

Even " reason will tell you that He who is Love itself, and whose goodness is equal to His almightiness, and who hath sworn that He hath no pleasure in the death of a sinner, but rather that he repent and live, will not destroy a poor soul that lyeth in submission at His feet, and is so far from resolved rebellion against Him that it grieveth that it is no better and can please Him no more " (p. 22). And Jesus Christ has more than confirmed the clearest insight of Reason, or the strongest witness of the Old Testament. For " in Christ God is come down into our nature, and so Infinite Goodness and Mercy are incarnate. The Man Christ Jesus is able now to save to the utmost all that come to God by Him. We have a Merciful High Priest that is acquainted with our infirmities. Herein we see the will of God putting forth itself for our help in the most astounding way that could be imagined. Here is more than merely a gracious inclination. It's an *office* of saving and showing mercy, also, that Christ hath undertaken ; even to seek and save that which was lost ; to bring home straying souls to God ; to be the great Peacemaker between God and Man ; to reconcile God to man and man to God ; and so to be the Head and Husband of His people " (p. 29).

"Alas that the Lord Jesus should come from Heaven to earth, from glory into humane flesh, and passe through a life of misery to a Crosse, and from the Crosse to the grave, to manifest openly to the world the abundance of His Love, and the tenderness of His heart to sinners, and that, after all this, we should suspect Him of cruelty, or hard-heartedness and unwillingness to show mercy, and that the devil can so far delude us, as to make us think of the Lamb of God as if He were a Tyger or devourer" (p. 31).

There was a bitter conflict in Baxter's day over the question, whether or not Christ died for all; and the Calvinist treated the Armenian who said that He did as a heretic. But Baxter risked the charge of heresy. "You must," he said to those who feared that a limited Atonement might exclude them from hope, "you must believe and consider the full sufficiency of Christ's Sacrifice and Ransome for all." "The Controversies about this you need not be troubled at: for as almost all confess this sufficiency, so the Scripture itself, by the plainness and fullness of its expression makes it as clear as the light that Christ died for *All.* The fuller proof of this I have given you in publike, and shall do yet more publikely, if God will" (p. 32).

"As soon as ever the heart of a sinner is turned from his sinnes, the heart of Christ is turned to him. The very summe of all the Gospel is contained in those precious words which fully express this, *Matt. xi.* 28, 29, 30: '*Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you Rest. Take my yoak upon you and learn of me: for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall finde Rest unto your souls. For My yoak is easie and my burden is light.*' When the Prodigal, Luke xv. 20, doth come home to his Father, with sorrow and shame confessing his unworthiness, yea but resolved to confess it; his Father preventeth

him, and sees him afarre off, and staies not his coming, but runs and meets him, and, when he comes to him, he doth not upbraid him with his sins, nor say, *Thou Rebell, why hast thou forsaken me, and preferred harlots and luxury before me?* Nay, he doth not so much as frown upon him, but compassionately falls on his neck and kisseth him. Alas, God knows that a poor sinner, in this humbled, troubled case, hath burden enough on his back already, and indeed more than he is able of himself to bear. The sense of his own sinful folly and misery is burden enough. If God should add to this His frowns and terrors, and should spurn at a poor sinner that lies prostrate at His Feet, in tears or terrours, who, then, should be able to stand before Him, or to look Him in the Face? But He will not break the bruised reed; He will not make heavier the burden of a sinner. He calls them to come to Him for Ease and Rest, and not to oppress them or kill them with terrours. We have not a King like *Rehoboam* that will multiply our pressures; but one whose office it is to break our yoaks, and loose our bonds, and set us free. When He was a Preacher Himself on earth, you may gather what Doctrine He preached by His Text—which he chose at one of His first publike Sermons. . . . Luke iv. 18, 19: '*The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor, He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blinde, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord.*' And if a poor bruised, wounded soul had but heard that Sermon from his Saviour's own mouth, what heart-meltings it would have caused? What pangs of love would it have raised in him! You would sure have believed then that the Lord is gracious, when *all* (that heard Him) *bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words that proceeded*

out of his mouth (Luke iv. 22). I would desire no more for the comfort of such a soul than to see such a sight, and feel such a feeling as the poor, penitent Prodigal did when he felt himself in the arms of his father, and felt the kisses of his mouth, and was surprised so unexpectedly with such a torrent of Love. The soul that hath once seen and felt this, would never sure have such hard and doubtful thoughts of God, except through ignorance they knew not whose arms they were that thus embraced them, or whose voice it was that thus bespoke them ; or unless the remembrance of it were gone out of their mindes. You see, then, what is God's own language to humbled penitents, and what is the method of His dealings with them. And such must be the language and dealings of His ministers. They must not wound when Christ would heal ; nor make sad the heart that Christ would comfort and would not have made sad " (pp. 248–251).

After this it is not surprising that Baxter should bring his 32 *Directions* to a climax in the exhortation to " deeply consider wherein the height of a Christian life and the greatest part of our Duty doth consist—to wit—in a loving Delight in God and a Thankful and Chearful Obedience to His Will " (p. 523).

His application of this Duty to the Sabbath is especially noteworthy.

" Christian Reader, let me entreat thee, in the name and fear of God, hereafter better to understand and practise thy Duty.

" Thy heart is better, a thousand times, in Godly sorrow than in carnal mirth. But never take it to be Right till it be Delighting itself in God. When you kneel down in prayer, labour so to conceive of God, and bespeak Him that He may be your Delight : so do in Hearing and Reading :

so do in all your Meditations of God : so do in your feasting on the flesh and blood of Christ at His Supper. Especially improve the happy opportunity of the Lord's Day, wherein *you may wholly devote yourself to this work.*

"And I advise Ministers and all Christ's Redeemed ones that they spend more of those days in Praise and Thanksgiving, especially in Commemoration of the whole work of Redemption (and not of Christ's Resurrection alone), or else they will not answer the Institution of the Lord ; and that they keep it as the most solemn day of Thanksgiving, and be briefer on that day in their Confessions and Lamentations, and longer at other times ! O that the Congregations of Christ through the world were so well informed and animated that the main business of their solemn Assemblies on that day might be to sound forth the high Praises of their Redeemer ; and to begin here the Praises of God and the Lamb which they must perfect in God for ever ! How sweet a foretaste of Heaven would be then at these solemnities ! And truly let me tell you, my Brethren of the Ministry, you should by private teaching and week-day sermons so further the knowledge of your People that you might not need to spend so much of the Lord's Day in Sermons as the most godly use to do ; but might better bestow a greater part of it in Psalms and solemn Praises to our Redeemer. And I could wish that the Ministers of *England* to that end would unanimously agree on some one Translation of the English Psalms in meeter, better than that in common use, and if it may be, better than any yet extant (not neglecting the poetical sweetness under the pretence of exact translating), or at least to agree on the best now extant (the *London* Ministers may do well to lead the way), lest that blessed part of God's solemn worship should be blemished for want either of Reformation or Uniformity. And in my weak judgment if Hymns

and Psalms of Praise were new invented, as fit for the state of the Gospel, Church and Worship as *David's* Psalms were fitted to the former state and infancy of the Church, and more obscure revelations of the Mediator and His Grace, it would be no sinful humane invention or addition, nor any more want warrant than our inventing the form and words of every sermon that we preach, and every prayer that we make, or any Catechism or Confession of faith. Nay, it may seem of so great usefulness as to be next to a necessity. (Still provided that we force not any to the use of them that through ignorance may scruple it.) And if there be any convenient parcels of the Ancient Church that are fitted to this use they should deservedly be preferred. I do not think I digress all this while from the scope of my discourse. For doubtless if God's usual solemn worship on the Lord's Day were more fitted and directed to a Pleasant, Delightful, Praising way, it would do very much to frame the spirits of Christians to Joyfulness and Thankfulness and Delight in God: than which there is no greater cure for their Doubtful, Pensive, self-tormenting frame. O try this, Christians, at the request of one that is moved by God to importune you to it! God doth pitty you in your sorrows; but He Delighteth in you when you Delight in Him. . . . And if sin interpose and hinder your Delights, believe it, a Cheerful Amendment and Obedience is that which will please God better than your self-tormenting fears. . . . Remember that it is not your Vexation or Despair, but your Obedience and Peace that God desireth. That life is most pleasing to Him which is most safe and sweet to you" (pp. 533–6).

There is a tradition that Baxter was never known to laugh; and, although supported by no definite evidence, it may be true. For he had the personal excuse of constant pain.

Moreover, he had the excuse—as had the Puritans generally —that, in their days, laughter was so much the mirth of fools and so often a flaunt at everything serious that, by a natural reaction, avoidance of laughter became a sort of Puritan fashion, a distinctive mark, like the cut of the hair or the shape and colour of the dress. But the growth of an unjoyful temper, a temper such as quenched smiles no less than laughter, and lapsed into habitual sourness and sadness, had no excuse. It was alien to the inmost spirit of the faith ; and Baxter's protest against it is emphatic. Sadness oppressed him when he thought of the many who did not believe his Gospel, and he felt often driven to depict in lurid terms the awful consequences of unbelief ; but there was no sadness in his Gospel itself. This was nothing but "good news" ; and this formed the staple of his preaching. "It is my judgment and constant practice" (he wrote, with particular reference to the case of his wife) "to make those that I teach understand that the Gospel is glad Tidings of Great Joy, and that holiness lies especially in delighting in God, His Word and Works, and in His joyful praise and hopes of glory, and longing for and seeking the Heavenly Jerusalem, and living as fruitfully to the Church and others as we can do in the world" (*Life of Margaret Baxter*, p. 69).

F. J. Powicke.

THE CLOSE OF THE GALILÆAN MINISTRY.

I. The Synoptic Account.

It is very generally admitted that in the two Marcan narratives of the Feeding of the People we have duplicate accounts of the same event. The opinion is further widely held that the duplication extends to contiguous portions of the narrative. The correspondences may be roughly exhibited as follows :

Mark A.	Mark B.
vi. 30. Return of the xii.	
vi. 31–44. Feeding of the People.	viii. 1–9. Feeding of the People.
vi. 45–52. Voyage and Storm.	viii. 10a. Voyage.
vi. 53. Landing.	viii. 10b. Landing.
vi. 54–56. Reunion with the People : healing.	
vii. 1–23. Controversy with the Pharisees (washing)	viii. 11–12. Controversy with the Pharisees (sign).
vii. 24 Departure from Galilee.	viii. 13, Departure from Galilee.
	viii. 14–21. Sayings about bread and leaven.
vii. 25–30. Healing in Phœnicia vii. 31–37. Healing in Decapolis	viii. 22–26. Healing in Gaulanitis.[1]

It seems highly probable that in these sections we have more or less alternative versions of the same series of events. If that be granted, and if the verses in question be printed in parallel columns instead of successively, then it becomes clear that the departure from Galilee in vii. 24 no less than that in viii. 13 is a final abandonment of the Galilæan ministry. Both accounts represent Jesus as travelling into regions beyond the frontiers of Galilee, and indeed of the Holy Land. When the narrative enters a fresh

[1] I assume that Βηθσαιδά, here and in vi. 45, is the well-known Bethsaida, otherwise called Julias, in the territory of Philip to the N.E. of the Lake of Galilee. The evidence for another Bethsaida on the western side is not very strong.

phase at viii. 27, He is still abroad, and it is not until ix. 30 that He is brought back to Galilee. This time He travels through the district *incognito*, and there is no resumption of public ministry before the journey to Jerusalem is begun in x. 1 *sqq.*

That Mark is not consciously giving alternative accounts of the same series of events is clear enough. The duplication therefore must be due to the use of more than one source. It would indeed be hazardous to conclude that the division into sources coincides exactly with the *prima facie* limits of duplication as indicated above, but it is difficult to resist the conclusion that in some measure at least we have before us the testimony not of a single source but of two sources for the narrative of events which closed the Galilæan ministry of our Lord. They may therefore be treated, with due caution, as independent documents, and they may be used, like any other pair of historical documents covering common ground, to confirm, correct, or supplement each other. The first question to be considered is that of the limits of the second source, and when these have been tentatively determined we can proceed to a comparison of the two accounts.

We start naturally with the core of the duplicate narrative, the story of the Feeding of the People. It is at once obvious that the B narrative is shorter and more formal than the A narrative. The former gives the story in the easy, full, natural style common in the "Petrine" sections of Mark. The latter is more compressed, less lively, almost liturgical in tone, as though it had passed through a longer process of rubbing-down in ecclesiastical use. The next section of B narrative, viii. 11–13, shows similar signs of compression. The essential facts are stated in the baldest possible fashion; the essential words are reported in the curtest possible form. The verses following, 14–21, are by contrast

rather full and explicit. But when their contents are examined, two facts emerge: (*a*) the writer of the section found a difficulty in the enigmatic saying about leaven, and is attempting a laboured explanation, and (*b*) he had before him two stories of the Feeding of the People. But, by our hypothesis, the second source, like the first, had only one such story. The writer of the section, therefore, is the person who combined the sources, i.e., probably the writer of our present Gospel. It is like him to attempt laboured explanations of enigmatic sayings of the Lord, and it is doubtful if his explanations always explain.[1] The reference in viii. 18 to eyes that do not see and ears that do not hear recalls in a striking way the quotation from Isaiah in iv. 12, a passage which there are strong grounds for regarding as secondary or editorial. Probably, therefore, the nucleus of the section viii. 14–21 was a brief and summary report of one or perhaps two enigmatic sayings of the Lord, in the same dry and staccato style as 11–13, and it may be attributed to the same source. We then reach the section recording the healing of the blind man of Bethsaida, viii. 22–26. The narrative here is rather unusually full and detailed. For its account of the gradual process of healing we have parallels in Mark vii. 32–37, ix. 14–29, and nowhere else. Indeed the similarity of the former of these sections to viii. 22–26 makes it difficult not to assign them to the same source. It therefore appears that we must modify the limits of the second source suggested by the *prima facie* evidence for duplication. We must be content to

[1] The "interpretation" of the Parable of the Sower, with the observations which introduce it, iv. 10–20, is a case in point. Another instance is vii. 17–23. In both cases the "explanation" contains a number of words which do not belong to the ordinary vocabulary of the sayings of Jesus, and are common in Paul and other New Testament writers. We may suspect that these private interviews at which Jesus expounds His own sayings are a literary device for introducing explanations which the author felt to be necessary.

find a second source in viii. 1–15 only, with editorial comments rounding off the section to 21. The episode at Bethsaida then probably belongs to narrative A, and the terminus of the voyage of viii. 13 is not defined except in the words τὸ πέραν, which in Mark usually, if not always, denote the eastern side of the Lake and the Jordan Valley.

Assuming tentatively these limits for the second source, we may proceed to compare the accounts of the closing events of the Galilæan ministry given by our hypothetical two sources. They agree in connecting the final abandonment of Galilee rather closely with the Feeding of the People. But they further agree in interpolating between the Feeding and the departure from Galilee a controversy with the Pharisees. According to narrative A the course of events is this: After the meal with the crowd (on the western side of the Lake), Jesus sent His disciples across the Lake to Bethsaida in Gaulanitis. They however met foul weather, and were apparently driven back. During the night Jesus joined them, and in the morning they landed, still on the western shore, in the plain of Gennesaret. It appears that Jesus had intended to abandon Galilee, but His plans were deranged. His popularity reasserted itself, and He was again surrounded by crowds seeking the cure of their diseases. Presently, however, the Pharisees found Him out. They challenged Him upon an important point of principle—the traditional rules of purity which separated the pious Jew from the *'Am-ha-'arets*. Jesus replied in terms which went farther than anything He had said before in the way of a direct repudiation of the Mosaic Law. Immediately thereupon He left Galilee and travelled into Phœnicia.

According to narrative B, after the Feeding of the People (which may best be considered as happening on the western side, although the present place of the narrative in the

Gospel seems to imply a situation on the eastern side), Jesus set sail with His disciples. He is not said to have sailed εἰς τὸ πέραν. His destination, according to our present text, was "Dalmanutha," but it is probable that the text is corrupt.[1] In any case no place called Dalmanutha is otherwise known, and unless the Matthæan readings Magedan, Magdala, are called in to our assistance we must confess ignorance of the place of landing. There is, however, nothing against identifying this landing with the landing in Gennesaret mentioned in narrative A. We must then suppose that narrative B, compressed as it is, records in a few words the voyage which narrative A records in vi. 45–53. The most striking difference in the narratives at this point is the introduction of the multitudes in vi. 54–56. This section implies a rather extended healing ministry after the Feeding of the People, whereas narrative B allows for no public ministry at all after the Feeding. We have no materials for deciding between the sources. On the one hand, narrative B is clearly brief and compressed, and may have omitted to mention a ministry which had no distinctive features. On the other hand the account in vi. 54–56 relates no fresh incident of a definite kind. It is a vague summary, and in fact merely repeats in a generalised form facts already related as particular incidents in i. 32, ii. 3, v. 27.[2] Narrative B now goes on to record, in agree-

[1] Rendel Harris, *A Study of Codex Bezae* (Texts and Studies, vol. II. No. 1), p. 178, suggests that the letters λμανουθα represent the Syriac ܠܓܒ̈ܪ̈ܬ = εἰς τὰ μέρη, so that the MSS. reading is a dittography, and the name has dropped out. The suggestion is attractive, though it has not been widely adopted.

[2] In reading Mark it is important to distinguish precise records of particular incidents from the vague generalising summaries with which the writer is accustomed to round off sections of his narrative. Thus a good deal of stress is commonly laid upon the statement in iii. 11 that the demons constantly acknowledged Jesus as Son of God. This verse is best regarded as the author's generalisation from the two particular incidents recorded in i. 25 and v. 7. Again iv. 33–34, upon which has

ment with A, the appearance of Pharisees on the scene. They challenge Jesus, not this time on a point of law, but on the still more fundamental question of the source of His authority, for that is what lies behind the demand for a "sign from heaven." Their demand meets with an abrupt refusal, and thereupon Jesus hastily leaves Galilee. But whereas narrative A made Him leave by the northward route into Phœnicia, narrative B makes Him take ship for the eastern shore. On the way across He utters enigmatic words about the "leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod." The saying, Mark informs us, was not understood by the disciples, and it is not clear that he understood it himself. In view of the situation, and with the proverb in mind "a little leaven leavens the lump,"[1] we may conjecture that the meaning was something of this kind: "Herod and the Pharisees may be a mere handful compared with the multitudes who adhere to us, but their baneful influence is sufficient to corrupt the minds of the whole mass. Do not be deluded by popularity; the crowd is only too open to evil influence."

Our two narratives, therefore, agree in suggesting that the abandonment of Galilee was the immediate sequel, and probably the consequence, of a decisive conflict with the Pharisees, which took place on the western shore of the Lake when Jesus landed there after a voyage. There is a hint in narrative A that this landing was not in the original programme, but was in some measure enforced by circumstances; and there is nothing in narrative B to con-

been built much speculation about a supposed period in the ministry when Jesus spoke *nothing* but parables (!), is clearly just a literary winding-up of a pericope before the author leaves the subject and passes on. A close scrutiny will reveal several other examples of the same kind. Such generalisations are of small historical value compared with the record of a concrete fact.

[1] 1 Cor. v. 6, Gal. v. 9, in both cases with reference to the evil influence of a minority.

tradict this. It may be, therefore, that Jesus had thought of leaving Galilee immediately after the Feeding of the People. But the course of events is not clear. According to narrative B, after the meal with the people Jesus and His disciples set sail together. According to narrative A He sent them away by boat and Himself retired to the hills, only rejoining His company after they had got into difficulties in the storm, and, in fact, as we may conjecture, had already found it impossible to keep a course for their destination on the eastern side. In such a case it is reasonable to trust the fuller narrative. But the motives and intentions implied are obscure. It is often assumed that the voyage across the Lake was undertaken in fulfilment of the purpose declared in vi. 31 but frustrated by the arrival of the crowd. But if it be true, as appears from vi. 45–46, that after the Feeding Jesus' first intention was a separation between Himself and His disciples, the case is not so simple. It is an unusual proceeding, and suggests some unusual elements in the situation out of which it arose. Was there in fact some sort of a crisis which made it imperatively necessary that the disciples at least should leave Galilee at once, and led Jesus Himself to go apart for special meditation, in communion with God, upon an unforeseen turn of events? Against this suggestion is to be set the fact that according to narrative A the enforced landing is followed by a period of active public ministry exactly on the old lines, as though nothing unusual had happened. But, as we have seen, the superiority of narrative A at this point is far from decisive. From narrative B we should gather that the parting from the crowd after the Feeding was something like a definite farewell to the Galilæan populace, and a strange saying of the Lord at the moment of final departure hints darkly at a corruption of the popular mind by the parties arrayed against Him. Nevertheless,

when at x. 1 He emerges into publicity again, there is no sign of a loss of popularity.[1]

The Matthæan parallel sections add nothing of weight to the double narrative of Mark. In Luke, on the other hand, the duplication has disappeared, together with almost all that could suggest to the reader that Jesus left Galilee and went into retirement in the regions north and east of the Lake.[2] Peter's confession is related without any indication of locality, and we are left to suppose that Jesus only left Galilee when He finally started for Jerusalem. The omitted Marcan sections, however, are not wholly without parallel in Luke, but the parallels occur in the midst of matter derived either from the Matthæo-Lucan source which we are accustomed to call "Q" or from some source peculiar to Luke.

In Luke xi.–xii. there is a whole series of partial correspondences with Mark, which may be exhibited summarily as follows:

	Mark.	Luke.
1.	iii. 22–27. On Exorcism.	xi. 14–26. On Exorcism.
2.	iii. 31–35. A Saying about the Mother of Jesus.	xi. 27–28. A Saying about the Mother of Jesus.
3.	vii. 2 *sqq.* A Controversy about Washing.	xi. 37 *sqq.* A Controversy about Washing.
4.	viii. 11. Demand for a Sign. viii. 12. Refusal of a Sign.	xi. 16. Demand for a Sign. xi. 29. Refusal of a Sign.
5.	viii. 15. On Leaven.	xii. 1. On Leaven.

[1] Schweizer is justified in arraigning the accepted "liberal" scheme of a ministry in three well-marked stages, (*a*) popularity, (*b*) alienation from the people, and (*c*) final conflict and catastrophe. In some sense Jesus' popularity maintained itself till the very morning of Good Friday, when Pilate was nonplussed at the sudden veering of the fickle mob. Nevertheless there was a time when Jesus took leave of Capernaum and her neighbour-cities in terms of deepest disappointment, Matt. xi. 21–23 = Luke x. 13–15. Here is something which calls for explanation. Popularity, it appears, was His for the asking; "repentance" He could not win: and because this moral foundation was lacking the popularity itself was balanced on a razor-edge, and came toppling down at the last when the moral cleft between Him and the people became unmistakable.

[2] In Luke ix. 10 *sqq.* the Feeding itself is located at "a city called Bethsaida," but with no suggestion that this Bethsaida lay beyond the Lake.

Here we have five sayings or groups of sayings, found in Luke in almost the same order as very similar sayings in Mark. The first two may be passed by for the moment. No. 3 is in Mark the critical controversy which according to narrative A immediately preceded Jesus' withdrawal from Galilee. Similarly sayings 4 and 5 are intimately associated with that withdrawal in the Marcan narrative B. It is, however, noteworthy that in Luke the demand for a sign is only one half of a double challenge. In effect the critics of Jesus say (Luke xi. 15–16): "Prove to us that your power is from above, or we will assume it is from below, and deal with you as one in league with Beelzebub." Jesus proceeds to deal with the two parts of the challenge separately. First He rebuts the charge of being in league with the powers of darkness (Luke xi. 17–23, with a short added section on exorcism, having no direct bearing on the immediate question, 24–26), and then turns to the demand for a sign, which He refuses, not as in Mark in a single curt sentence, but in a short discourse which makes clearer His attitude to the state of mind exhibited in the demand (Luke xi. 29–32). But these two sections are separated by a short episode in which a bystander listening to the teaching utters a blessing on the Mother of Jesus, to which He replies that real blessedness is only to be found in hearing and keeping the word of God (Luke xi. 27–28). The tone of this incident recalls the episode which Mark has interwoven with *his* story of the "Beelzebub" controversy, in which Jesus asks, "Who is my mother?" and replies, "Whoever does the will of God." It can scarcely be a merely accidental coincidence that in each of these cases a saying implying a certain detachment from family relationships should occur in the immediate proximity of a reply to a charge of being in league with the powers of darkness. Indeed this whole series of correspondences

can hardly be accidental. Sir John Hawkins has shown convincingly that in the Great Interpolation Luke is entirely independent of Mark.[1] It looks, therefore, as though we were on the track of an alternative tradition of the set of decisive sayings which marked the end of the Lord's public activity in Galilee. We may therefore use, with all necessary caution, these sections of Luke to elucidate the Marcan narrative of the close of the Galilæan ministry. It may still not be possible to trace the exact course of events, but it seems as though the inner development might betray itself in this series of sayings.

It is clear that the hostility between Jesus and the religious leaders was coming to a head. They had disliked His attitude to "sinners," but it would have been difficult to frame a really damaging charge against Him on that score. They had cavilled at His laxity on the Sabbath law, but here He could make out a good case against them from the Law itself, and probably could claim support from some at least of its accredited exponents.[2] The dispute about purity may, at first, have moved upon much the same level, but it was a different matter when Jesus laid down the principle that nothing which enters a man from without can defile him, for this was in direct contravention of express ordinances of the Law: He knew it, and so did they. A charge like that of being in league with Beelzebub is very different from mere criticism of His attitude to particular precepts of the Law. With this charge the Pharisees cease to treat Jesus as a rival and perhaps heretical teacher of morals, and prepare to deal with Him as one whose whole activity rests upon a monstrous compact with the evil powers, as one therefore who can have no place in the commonwealth of Israel. The fact that the "Beelzebub" incident

[1] *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 29, *sqq.*

[2] See Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, pp. 129, *sqq.*

is related at a comparatively early point in Mark is not a very serious objection to placing it near the crisis, for it is clear that in chapters ii.–iii. Mark is adopting a topical rather than a chronological order. Having reached at the beginning of chapter ii. the point at which controversy with the Pharisees becomes a leading motive in the story, he has grouped together a series of examples of such controversy, under the heads of (*a*) forgiveness of sins, (*b*) intercourse with sinners, (*c*) fasting, (*d*) the Sabbath. The artificiality of this order is manifest, and it is quite possible that this artificiality extends over the latter part of chapter iii. It is therefore perhaps not too rash to follow Luke's hint that the "Beelzebub" charge was intimately associated with the critical challenge. It marks a definite stage in the rejection of Jesus by the religious authorities. They have succeeded in getting from Him an express repudiation of the Law on a crucial point (that of the distinction of "clean" and "unclean"), and now they declare in the presence of the people that this lawbreaker is in league with the Evil One, offering Him at the same time the chance of clearing Himself by a miracle. That chance He refused to take, as they had expected Him to refuse, and they could now count on a weakening of the popular belief in Him. He had submitted to a foul charge, which clearly He had no power to rebut in the only convincing way. What exactly happened we are not told. The account in Mark B of the disciples putting to sea so hastily that they forgot to provision themselves has an air of great versimilitude, and may suggest that some more definite overt action on the part of the Pharisees had led to this retreat. For the rest, we have only the word of Jesus that the leaven was at work. May it not be that the alienation from His family, which is associated with these incidents, was to Him one sign of the deadly power with which this leaven could work?

We are, however, still left with the difficulty that Jesus had apparently intended to leave Galilee before the final assault of the Pharisees, at the very moment of His great popularity after the Feeding of the People, and that when at last he came out of retirement He was, to all appearance, as acceptable as ever to the people.

II. The Johannine Account.

In the present state of Gospel criticism it is not legitimate to make use of the Fourth Gospel directly as an historical source independent of the Synoptics and deserving of equal respect. On the other hand, there are few critics who nowadays would assert without misgiving the wholly negative judgment upon its historical value which passed for final some two or three decades ago. There is a tendency to suspect that there are elements in this Gospel which represent, under whatever disguise, a genuinely historical tradition not wholly dependent on the Synoptic record. It therefore becomes worth while to make fresh attempts at analysis of the Gospel itself and comparison of its various elements with the Synoptic material. It is proposed here to ask how far the series of events connected with the close of the Galilæan ministry (which we have seen to underlie passages in the Synoptic Gospels due in the last resort to three pre-canonical sources) reappears in the Johannine narrative; and how far, if at all, the Johannine narrative makes any credible additions to the story.

We start with the account of the Feeding of the People in John vi. Here we have the Johannine equivalent for the narratives of Mark vi. 31–44 and viii. 1–9. Without any elaborate analysis it is clear that the Johannine narrative is as a whole much closer to Mark A than to Mark B, and the record of the voyage which follows is also very close to the Marcan narrative of vi. 45–52. It seems at least highly

probable that John is here writing with Mark before him, or in his memory, although he is by no means merely copying Mark. There are just two points which seem to indicate contact with the Marcan narrative B; (i.) the fact that in Mark viii. 1 and John vi. 5 alike Jesus takes the initiative, whereas in Mark vi. 35 it is the disciples who first broach the question of the food-supply; and (ii.) the occurrence in Mark viii. 6 and John vi. 11 of the word εὐχαριστήσας, which is absent from Mark vi.[1] If the author of the Fourth Gospel had Mark viii. as well as Mark vi. in mind, it might explain why he places the scene of the Feeding of the People on the eastern side of the Lake. At this point we will leave the Feeding narrative for a moment.

It has been pointed out by Schwartz and Wellhausen that although in the Fourth Gospel as we have it the ministry of Jesus alternates between Galilee and Jerusalem, yet there is a passage which appears to suggest a definite transition from an earlier Galilæan to a later Judæan ministry, in the manner of the Synoptic scheme. This passage is John vii. 1–9, where Jesus is urged by His brothers to transfer His activity from an obscure province to the greater publicity of the metropolis. At first He declines, but subsequently leaves Galilee and goes up to Jerusalem. From this point there is no further Galilæan ministry in the Fourth Gospel, although the scene is by no means confined to Jerusalem. According to this passage the journey to Jerusalem was preceded by a period during which Jesus was travelling in Galilee (vii. 1) and was shunning publicity (vii. 4). Now according to Mark ix. 30 Jesus made a secret journey through Galilee; and the next move

[1] See also my article "Eucharistic Symbolism in the Fourth Gospel" in Expositor, Dec. 1911, where it is shown that the language of Mark viii. 1–9 is very similar to that of Mark xiv. 22–25, suggesting eucharistic associations which are strongly present in John vi.

of which we hear is a journey to Jerusalem, which proves in fact to be the final journey (x. 1). There seems a *prima facie* case for identification. It is true that the situation is conceived differently by the two writers. To John apparently *any* stay in Galilee means obscurity, while Mark draws a very definite contrast between public ministry in Galilee and the period of private travel there.* If, as there are other reasons for supposing, the Fourth Gospel is somehow related to a Jerusalemite as distinct from a Galilæan tradition, we may see in this difference the typical attitude of the metropolitan to the person who "buries himself in the provinces." But though the situation may be differently interpreted, yet the actual facts contemplated are strikingly alike: a period of obscure journeying in Galilee followed by a final departure from Galilee. Tentatively, therefore, let us treat the departure of John vii. 8 as in some sort identical with that of Mark x. 1. Treating the Feeding of the People and the final departure from Galilee as the termini of a period, let us set forth summarily the main incidents of that period as recorded in Mark and in John respectively.

A.	Mark.	B.	John.
vi. 31–44. Feeding of People.	viii. 1–9.	Feeding.	vi. 1–13. Feeding of People.
			vi. 14–15. Attempted Revolution
vi. 45–52. Voyage and Storm.	viii. 10a.	Voyage.	vi. 16–20. Voyage and Storm.
vi. 53. Landing.	viii. 10b.	Landing.	vi. 21. Landing.
vi. 54–56. Reunion with people; healing miracles.			vi. 22–26. Reunion with people; conversation about miracles.
vii. 1–23. Controversy about washing.	viii. 11–12.	Controversy about a sign.	vi. 25–29. Conversation, with controversy about signs (30–32), and
vii. 24. Departure into Phoenicia	viii. 13.	Departure to eastern shore.	

A.	Mark.	B.	John.
vii. 25–37. Healing in Gentile territory.	viii. 14–21. Dark sayings about about leaven & bread.		dark sayings about bread (27, 35, *sqq.*)
viii. 22–26. Healing in Gentile territory.			
viii. 27–30. Peter's confession.			vi. 67–69. Peter's confession.
viii. 31–33. Prediction of Passion: a "satan" among the xii.			vi. 70–71. Prediction of Betrayal; a "devil" among the xii.
viii. 34–ix. 1. Teaching.			
ix. 2–13. Transfiguration.			
ix. 14–29. Healing.			
ix. 30. Private journey through Galilee.			vii. 1–9. Journey in Galilee, ἐν κρυπτῷ.
ix. 33–50. Teaching.			
x. 1. Departure for Jerusalem.			vii. 10. Departure for Jerusalem.

Is it a mere accident that the simple writing down of the two narratives in parallel columns should reveal so many apparent coincidences? Or is it not rather probable that in John we are beholding the same series of events "in a glass darkly"? The most striking difference between the two accounts is the entire absence from John of any record of travels outside the Holy Land. But these travels are obscured in Luke, as we have seen, so that in this point the Fourth Gospel is only carrying forward a process already begun in the Synoptics. It is rather curious that in this very seventh chapter of the Fourth Gospel we are told that the Jews speculated upon the possibility that Jesus might leave Palestine and go "to the Dispersion of the Greeks" (vii. 35). Can it be that this remark betrays the author's knowledge that Jesus had actually made some slight and tentative advance into non-Jewish territory, such as is implied in the Marcan narrative? Be that as it may, our study of these passages seems to have shown that in this

part at least the Fourth Gospel has not abandoned the framework of the Synoptic story so completely as has sometimes been supposed.[1]

Nothing which has come out in the course of this discussion is contrary to the natural and generally received assumption that the author of the Fourth Gospel made use of Mark. Whether his variations from Mark in detail are due to the use of any second source is a question which cannot profitably be discussed on the basis of a selected portion of the Gospel. It may, however, not be out of place to make some observations upon what is perhaps the most interesting addition which the Fourth Gospel supplies to this part of the narrative. After the Feeding of the People, and before the voyage, the fourth evangelist adds a statement that those who had been present at that remarkable event recognised Jesus as "the coming prophet," and that He was aware of a plot to "take Him by force and make Him king." If that is true, it is a very important piece of information.

Now we saw that the Synoptic record leaves a certain obscurity at this point. In the events themselves as they are recorded there does not seem to be any adequate motive for the steps taken by Jesus after the Feeding. We may therefore ask whether the addition in the Fourth Gospel, supposing it to be historical, would help to clear up the matter. Let us then review the Marcan accounts of the incident. In vi. 34 we are told that Jesus was sorry for the people because they were "like sheep without a shepherd"—because they were a leaderless mob, shall we say?

[1] The part played by the "brethren" of Jesus in John vii. 1–9 is interesting, and may be compared with the family interference of Mark iii. 20–21, 31–35. We saw that there is some reason (derived from the Lucan order) for connecting this whole episode in Mark, cohering closely with the "Beelzebub" controversy, with the later critical stage of affairs which led to the abandonment of Galilee. It is at least curious that in John too, the interference of the "brethren" is brought in at the point where departure from Galilee is contemplated.

He therefore taught them. We may assume that the teaching had some relation to their condition: it was teaching for men without a leader. Then came the common meal. We may pause here to observe that in John xxi. we have another meal of bread and fish, and immediately after it a commission is given to Peter: "Feed my lambs; shepherd my sheep." That is, the disciple is sent into a world of men "like sheep without a shepherd" to be a leader to the leaderless and to care for the needy. Was not some such meaning implied when to the disciples who wished to shelve responsibility the Lord said, "Give ye them to eat"? It is the opinion of some scholars of repute that in John xxi. we have a narrative which may go back to the lost ending of Mark: it is certainly not quite in harmony with the specifically Johannine conception of the post-resurrection appearances. If that were so, we should feel the more secure in using John xxi. to explain Mark vi. In any case, it is not difficult to see in the act of feeding the people an expression of what Jesus had to give to "sheep without a shepherd." Those are probably right who see in the meal a sacrament. The close resemblance of the narrative in Mark viii. to the Marcan account of the Last Supper is unmistakable. It was a sacrament of the Kingdom of God, as Schweizer and his school hold. But if the meal was a sacrament of the Kingdom, what were the participants to think of Him who gave the feast as the crowning act of a long day's intimate teaching? John says they recognised in Him the coming prophet and wanted to make Him king. That is, the unshepherded sheep found in Him their Shepherd, and being men of a quick and practical rather than a spiritual turn of mind they hastened to force upon Him a practical and concrete form of leadership. It is not necessary to suppose that they meant anything so definite as a recognition of Jesus as Messiah. Enough if

they saw in Him a sympathetic and able leader who would array them for that last war in which God, if it should be His will, would make bare His arm and reveal His Anointed in triumph. In plain language that meant revolt against Rome and Herod. The countrymen of Judas of Galilee would not shrink from that. If some such attempt was really made at this point, we can better understand the subsequent course of events as Mark records them. Jesus' first care was to dissolve the dangerous assembly. The disciples must promptly put the Lake between themselves and this perilous enthusiasm. The crowd must be induced to disperse. He Himself must vanish among the hills, and there in solitude He must face his perplexing problem.

Whatever, therefore, be the source of the Johannine report of a contemplated revolt with Jesus as its centre, the report has a measure of internal probability. It would explain why the Feeding of the People appears in our sources as so significant and indeed critical an event: the sequel to the meal made it clear that the crude and undiscerning enthusiasm of the people was no less perilous to Jesus' mission than the undisguised hostility of the Pharisees and Herod. Their disappointment on this occasion might make them all the more ready for the working of the Pharisaic "leaven." John indeed says that the issue of the whole incident was that Jesus lost many followers at this time (John vi. 66). We may therefore represent the retirement from Galilee as the only possible course of action in view of a dilemma. The authorities were resolved to make Galilee impossible for Jesus; He could only withstand their opposition by throwing Himself on popular support; but it proved that the support forthcoming was of a kind which He could not possibly accept. Unless, therefore, He was prepared to be torn to pieces between outraged authority and disappointed popular zeal, there was literally nothing left

to do but to abandon the country. Ultimately the solution of an impossible situation was found in that heroic march to Jerusalem, with a Roman cross beckoning all the way. A prophet could not perish out of Jerusalem. But we can readily understand that before that final resolution was taken there was for many reasons need of a time of privacy in remoter regions, and this explains those strange journeyings, which Mark records, through pagan territories beyond the Galilæan frontier.

C. Harold Dodd.

THE MESSAGE OF THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

So far as its literary character is concerned the *Book of Esther* occupies a position which is quite unassailable; it ranks high among those works of the pen which deserve to be held in everlasting remembrance, and which no lover of good literature will willingly let die. As I have already pointed out in a previous paper,[1] the narrative is enlivened by frequent flashes of humour, sometimes simply delicious, sometimes just a little grim; it abounds in dramatic situations, and the drama at times rises to the height of tragedy. The leading characters of the narrative are drawn with inimitable skill—the foolish and easily led, though not altogether unkindly king; the strong-minded and heroic queen; the Grand Vizier Haman, at once vain and ambitious, selfish and unscrupulous; and the long-headed and conscientious official Mordecai; all alike are so vividly pictured that we seem to have known them all our lives, and to include them in the circle of our personal acquaintance. The plot of the story is worked out with remarkable power, and throughout holds the reader firmly in its grip. Its interest never flags; and the severest critic must allow to

[1] *The Humorous Element in the Old Testament.* Expositor, July 1921.

Esther the right to a permanent place among the great stories not merely of antiquity, but of all time.

Unassailable as is the literary position of *Esther*, its right to a place in Holy Scripture has, from early times, been subject to frequent assault. Along with *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticles*, *Ezekiel* and *Jonah*, it is included among the Antilegomena of the Old Testament. Its right to a place in the canon was contested by many leading Christians and Jews down to the fourth century, and has frequently been contested since. A view very widely held at the present time is that the real explanation of the admission of *Esther* into the Hebrew canon was to afford a historical starting-point for, and a justification of the Jewish Feast of Purim, an annual merry-making secular rather than religious in character, and apparently of heathen origin.

Into the further discussion of this question it is hardly relevant to our present purpose to enter, nor are we specially concerned with the further question of the historicity or otherwise of the narrative; for whether we regard it as a liberal history, as a superstructure of romance resting on a historical foundation, or a didactic romance pure and simple, the conclusions to which we shall presently arrive will equally hold good. Full information with respect to these and other critical points germane to an exhaustive study of the book is readily available elsewhere.

The suspicion with which *Esther* has been, and is still in many quarters, regarded may be accounted for on more than one ground. The most familiar objection, indeed it is so familiar that one might almost describe it as the popular objection, is that in the canonical book of *Esther* the divine name is unmentioned, and with the exception of fasting the observances of religion have no place, a striking omission which the apocryphal additions are apparently intended to make good. It must also be admitted that the ethical

standard, as revealed, say, in the spirit and policy of Mordecai and Esther, the good people of the story, is, to say the least of it, not high. Other objections there are of smaller weight, as for instance the absence of any reference in *Esther* to other parts of the Old Testament, and of any quotations from *Esther* in the New. Passing by these latter objections as really amounting to very little, we are still confronted by the question whether the earlier objections are decisive against the claim of *Esther* to be regarded as Holy Scripture. Admitting the comparative lowness of ethical standard which is characteristic of the narrative, it appears to be quite legitimate to argue that this does but reveal that the picture presented therein is true to the life of the country and the time which it is intended to depict; and that even people so admirable in many respects as were Mordecai and Esther were not entirely unaffected by the deep moral taint which infected the atmosphere in which they lived and moved and had their being; and that both alike fell short of the standard of ethical attainment which had been reached by the choicer spirits of their own race in days which were already receding into the past.

The weightiest objection, however, still remains; and that is the popular one, the absence of any reference to the God of Israel, and the apparent lack of religious tone and feeling which, on the face of it, the narrative consistently exhibits. Admitting the force of this objection, can we find anything in this wonderful story which redeems it from the charge of irreligion, and which confers upon it an element of real spiritual worth, thus justifying its place in the sacred canon? It is the object of the present paper to point out that *Esther* has a message of profound religious significance and the highest practical importance.

Though the divine name is unmentioned in the *Esther*-narrative, and from the somewhat cumbrous expression in

iv. 14 one may infer that this non-mention is deliberate, the fact of God appears to the present writer to be implied throughout; and the consequences of the presence and the overruling wisdom of the Great Unnamed are far-reaching enough. Among the many striking features of this brilliantly told story there is perhaps none so striking as, and certainly none more deeply significant than the influence exercised upon the course of events by a series of happenings which, on the face of things, appear to be purely casual, and quite unconnected with each other. Yet, unconnected as they seem to be, they fit together like the pieces of a puzzle picture, and in most remarkable wise co-operate to lead up to the *dénouement* of the plot. In other words, the so-called accidental is not really accidental at all, but purposeful in the highest degree; the apparently casual is seen to be really causal.

These considerations lead us to the very heart of what may well be regarded as the true message of the *Book of Esther*, and a complete justification of its claim to a place in the sacred canon. As such, the point raised in the preceding paragraph will amply repay careful attention. Of the incidents in the narrative which may be included under the general description given above, five stand out with special prominence. Let us now look at them in order, according to each one such measure of detailed examination as may appear necessary in order to obtain an adequate grasp of its significance.

The first of these incidents need not detain us long. It is Ahasuerus' choice of a Jewish maiden to be his queen. The circumstance which opened up for Esther the path to a throne, an insult put upon Queen Vashti by her husband in the course of a drunken frolic, was in itself discreditable enough. The discreditableness of the business is not, however, relevant to our present purpose; what does

concern us is simply the chance character of it all. To a member of the Persian court circle nothing could have appeared to be more entirely casual than the incident which set King and Queen at loggerheads, and eventuated in the deposition of the latter, whereby the choice of a successor became necessary. But this was not the only element of chance involved ; for equally casual was the King's method of selection. Esther was not singled out on the ground of race or family connexion, or because of her known character and fitness for the high position of royal consort. She was simply chosen out of a crowd of likely maidens because her appearance and bearing appealed more strongly to the royal fancy than did that of any other member of the girls' parade. The doubly accidental character of Esther's elevation to queenship is very marked indeed.

The second of the incidents which meant a great deal more than could have been anticipated at the time of their occurrence was the fact that Esther's cousin and guardian, Mordecai, had the good fortune to discover a plot against the King's life, a discovery which led to its frustration. The plot might have been discovered by any State official or Court servant, but it happened to be Mordecai who actually did make the discovery—a bit of sheer good fortune, so far as he was concerned, but to all seeming nothing more.

The third and fourth incidents may be taken together, and demand rather fuller consideration than the foregoing. The element of apparent chance in both alike is to be found in the temperament and character of the arch-plotter Haman, who was at once superstitious and indiscreet. When, in order to avenge what he regarded as a personal slight persistently put upon him by Mordecai, the Vizier had cajoled his master into giving assent to his infamous proposal for the extermination of the Jews domiciled in

any and every part of the Persian Empire, his superstition hindered him from taking the first definite step in the direction of its accomplishment without an appeal to the occult. In order to determine the day for his great *coup* Haman must needs have recourse to the lot. As fate would have it, the lot fell on a day eleven months ahead, and until that lengthy period had elapsed the all-powerful Vizier could not proceed to action. Thus his superstition deprived him of any opportunity for a swift and sudden stroke, such as was essential to the complete success of so desperate an enterprise as that on which he had embarked. A second chance factor also contributed to the failure of the scheme. For, the day once fixed, the triumphant Vizier could not keep his own counsel, but was so ill-advised as to make the matter public at the earliest opportunity by issuing the royal orders for the massacre months before they could be acted upon. What his object in making this early announcement of his intentions really was it is difficult to conjecture, though there must have been in his mind something which passed for a reason. It may have been that he feared that the King might, on second thoughts, feel that he had been rushed into an indefensible business; and, despite the theoretical unalterableness of a royal decree once promulgated, might do something to thwart its complete carrying out. It may have seemed to the Vizier that the more public the decree was made the more difficult it would be for the King to draw back. That he sought by a wide publicity to tie the hands of his master seems, at all events, to be the most reasonable conjecture as to the motive which induced Haman to take this very unwise step. On the other hand, it may, of course, simply have been that Haman was so drunk with success that he cast all prudence to the winds, and hasted to express the hatred which was in his heart. But whatever its motive, the practical

consequence of this most unwise step was that the threatened people got early information as to what was intended against them, and had something like eleven months to consider their position and concert such counter-measures as might be possible—an opportunity of which they were not slow to avail themselves.

Passing on to the last incident to which special attention need be called we find ourselves in the very crisis of the story. Haman's ill schemes seem to be prospering beyond measure and the man himself to have at his disposal powers little less than those of royalty itself. He has already been the one non-royal guest at a royal banquet, and has a similar engagement for the morrow. Haman appears, in fact, to be riding on a flood-tide of royal favour, on the strength of which, and urged on by his wife, he has resolved to settle his account with Mordecai out of hand, without awaiting the general massacre of the Jews. He looks to find no difficulty in arranging for his rival's execution on the morrow; indeed, so confident is he of being able to effect this that he has already made the necessary preparations therefor. But a hand in the game is now taken by chance, and the veriest chance at that, so far as appearances go. A man has a bad night, sleep refuses to visit his couch—what more commonplace, more purely fortuitous circumstance than that can one conceive? But the man happens to be the King of Persia, and his wakefulness is fraught with the gravest consequences. The story is well known, and there is no need to re-tell it here. The result was that Haman, on the eagerly-expected morrow, instead of leading Mordecai out for execution, spent his morning in leading him on a royal progress through the streets of the capital. As he performed his most unwelcome duty, the outcome of his own suggestion, Haman must have realised that the edifice of his ambition was already shaking upon the

uncertain foundation of royal favour ; and before the day was out it fell in hideous ruin, and he himself was hurried from the royal banquet-hall to the scaffold he had erected for another, there to suffer the very death he had purposed to inflict. His great scheme perished with him, and the doom which threatened the Persian Jews was averted by means which we need not now consider.

What it does concern us to note is, however, the way in which a series of apparently independent incidents, each one of which was what men generally would describe as a chance happening, quite unconnected with the main issue, in actual fact co-operated together in the most remarkable way to determine the event. The outcome of a royal orgie was that Ahasuerus required a new queen, a fact entirely unconnected with Haman's ambition and intrigues. That the vacant place at the King's side was filled by a member of the race that had incurred the jealous hate of the powerful Vizier, chosen almost at random out of a crowd of eligible maidens, appeared to have no significance beyond the fact that preference had been given to the young lady selected for reasons which had nothing whatever to do with State policy or the affairs of the Empire, and if possible still less with the quarrels of statesmen. When, again, Haman's superstition drove him to have recourse to the lot in order to determine the day for his great *coup*, it seems on the face of it to be the merest chance that the lot fell upon a day nearly a year off, and a further chance that the Vizier's indiscreet eagerness constrained him to make the matter public months before there was any necessity for doing so. Yet once again the happy accident of the King's sleepless night occurred in the very nick of time to preserve the life and exalt the influence of the one man who was able to thwart the nefarious schemes of the wicked Minister.

Each of these incidents regarded by itself might well

appear to be the result of chance, and to have no bearing whatever upon the success or otherwise of the great plot. But, taken together, the element of chance disappears; they all converge upon one point; one supplements the other, and their total effect was such that they not only utterly wrecked Haman's deep-laid scheme, but destroyed the unscrupulous schemer as well. Thus a series of chance happenings combined in a most purposeful manner to avert from the Chosen People scattered throughout the Persian Empire the grave peril by which its very existence was threatened.

The name of God is, it is true, never once mentioned in this wonderful story; but His presence and His overruling wisdom are manifest throughout. His is the hand which brings together the apparently unconnected, so that the most fortuitous occurrences are seen to be in reality links in a chain of purpose, the means whereby He brings to nought the counsels of the wicked, and accomplishes His own high purpose of safeguarding His own. Herein may be found the true message of *Esther*, a message worthy of its fine setting, a message, moreover, relevant to every period of human history. What men call luck, or accident, or chance, plays an important part in practically every human life. Yet, if they could but see things from the standpoint of the Eternal, they might come to realise that blind chance plays a smaller part in the common life of men than is usually supposed. To too many of us it simply does not occur to associate the thought of God with the casual incidents of the "common round." In that connection He is all too frequently unnamed. But, just as the guiding hand of the Great Unnamed in *Esther* shaped the whole course of events, and directed the development of the plot along lines determined, not by its contriver, but by Himself—so in life generally and in the world of everyday

affairs, whether or not His presence be recognised and His Name named, God is present, and that presence, acknowledged or unacknowledged, as the case may be, is the dominating factor of the situation for every child of man. The words *casual* and *causal* are in form closely akin, so much so that the one is often confused with the other; a like confusion is not infrequently found in life, and many incidents which go to the making up of each day's life are dismissed without a thought as being devoid of all real significance, as merely casual in fact; whereas, if men only knew it, they are causal to the last degree, and their effects will still persist when many things commonly reckoned to be of first-rate interest and importance will have slipped away into everlasting forgetfulness. That the Great Unnamed is the ruling factor in human life, though He often works by means not always easy to detect, appears to be the profoundly important message of the *Book of Esther*.

W. Ernest Beet.

THE NEW MAGDALENE

Among the ten women who followed or served Christ in their different ways, and whose names appear in the Gospel narrative, one shines with especial brightness, with the splendour of a first-magnitude star—the Virgin Mother, whose right to the first place none will dispute. As to the second place in the constellation there will be differences of opinion; but, for ourselves, we do not hesitate in giving the second place to the Mary, whose character and life have been so misunderstood and maligned—the Magdalene. It is to observations of this Star we would now direct our tele- and spectroscopes; and we venture to think that those observations will abundantly confirm her right to the second place in the honoured group.

And first, we must locate, as best we may, the place of her nativity and bringing-up, and which has become her distinguishing surname; for Magdalene simply means "a daughter of Magdala." As one descends the steep mountain path leading from Nazareth to Tiberias he will see, a little to the left, one or two palm trees rising near the water's edge, with a few dilapidated houses, or hovels clustered about them. The place bears the modern mane of *Mejdel*, and it is all that remains to-day of the ancient city of Magdala. But even in its mean and fallen state it still bears its ancient name and some semblance of life; while the larger cities of Capernaum and Bethsaida have utterly disappeared, leaving scarcely a stone to mark their deep and uncertain grave. But Magdala was a populous and busy trade-centre at the time of Christ. It could boast of three hundred shops where pigeons for the sacrifices were sold; and four miles from the city was a deep valley, or gorge, called the "Valley of Doves," from the multitude of pigeons which made their nests in the holes of the rocks.[1]

There were eighty shops where fine woollen cloth was made; and so important was this branch of trade that one part of the city was called "the tower of the dyers"; while the Talmud gives to Magdala honourable mention as "the city of colour." And not only for its woollen fabrics was the city noted, it manufactured the finest linen, from the flax which the Galilean fields grew in abundance; while the women of its neighbourhood were famed for their skill in weaving textures of unusual fineness and beauty. Such was the place of Mary's nativity, the busy, flourishing town

[1] In the autumn of 1862 the writer was residing in the State of Wisconsin, U.S.A. In the woods near his residence he found the ground thickly covered with pigeon-wings, and he was told that a few weeks before, an immense flock of pigeons had settled in the woods, where they were caught in such numbers that the freightage on them to the eastern markets amounted to £1,000.

of Magdala, beautifully situated on the shore of the lake, which then was alive with its fishing-craft and the sails of its merchantmen. Three miles to the south was the semi-royal city of Tiberias, where Herod Antipas had built his splendid and luxurious palace, and whose famous sulphur springs drew the sick and crippled from all parts of the land, just as Harrogate and Buxton do to-day; while on the landward side of Magdala lay the Plain of Gennesaret, which was an extensive garden, whose fruitfulness and beauty were proverbial—"the unparalleled Garden of God," as one writer calls it.

Such was the environment of Mary's earlier life, where, in a home of comfort and refinement, she spent her childhood, maidenhood and opening womanhood, under those restraining, elevating influences that a devout Jewish home had over its young life. But now there falls upon her life a dark and mysterious shadow, which even modern science cannot fully explain; for, when St. Luke introduces her to us, he adds those sinister words, "from whom seven devils had gone out" (viii. 2). The Greek word is "demons," as the marginal reading has it; for the Scriptures do not recognise a plurality of devils. Though the searchlights of science have as yet failed to solve and make clear the subject of demoniacal possession, some of its facts are plainly evident. In its symptoms it was very much like the lunacy of our times, rendering its victims altogether incapable of self-government, with paroxysms of violence, which made them a danger to themselves and to others. We read of one from whom Jesus cast demons whose name and number were "legion"; but we have no evidence that he was a notorious sinner; we have rather some circumstantial evidence that he was not, for he lived a recluse among the tombs; but he was so wild and fierce that no man could tame him or bind him with chains. Perhaps it

may be said in reply, Yes, but he was now reaping the harvest of his earlier sins, those "ill uses" of his life which he had made his "lords," and which he could not well put down. But what shall we say of that other case, where Jesus cast out of the boy the dumb spirit, or demon, which the disciples could not exorcise? That strange and malignant possession, which threw him now into the fire and now into the water, was certainly not the result of earlier sins, for it had come upon the lad when a child. When Jesus healed the woman who had "a spirit of infirmity" eighteen years, and the ruler of the synagogue was indignant at this breaking of the Sabbath, Jesus took her part, and asked, "Ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo, these eighteen years, to be loosed from this bond on the Sabbath day?" The question of demoniacal possession is still an unsolved mystery; but the Scriptures plainly indicate that much, perhaps the most, of the sorrow, pain and travail of the world must be attributed to Satanic agency; that it is the impact of evil forces, the unclean and lying spirits, which keep up a truceless war against the good, suggesting to the mind of men evil thoughts, awaking evil desires, which, if not checked and mastered, will inevitably lead to sin, sorrow and death. And further: the Scriptures show that these evil forces, or spirits, have a certain limited power over the human body, introducing into its delicate mechanism something that will throw out of gear its finely-balanced wheels; though we should not like to say, as is said by some, that *all* sickness and disease is the work of the great adversary; since it is *He* at times who weakeneth our strength in the way and shorteneth our days, as it is *He* who makes our very sickness lead to a fuller, richer life. But when we read of the casting out of the seven demons it does not necessarily imply a dark moral lapse and stain; we read of a body sorely afflicted, or of

a mind sorely affected, but we do not read of a heart depraved. In the days of Christ the Jews were wont to ascribe all sickness to the working of evil spirits—as, indeed, the Arabs and all heathen peoples do to-day—and amulets and all kinds of charms were used to ward off these occult powers of evil. So St. Luke speaks of the bent and crippled woman in the synagogue as having "a spirit of infirmity" for these many years; and when Jesus speaks of her healing as a casting out of Satan, the prince of the demons, it allows us a more free and more charitable interpretation of the affliction of the Magdalene; for if this case of acute and chronic rheumatism could be referred to the agency of evil spirits, then we must allow the same latitude in the case of the Magdalene, and admit that her so-called "possession" might mean only some severe bodily or mental ailment. But, whatever it was, it need not, and does not, imply any grievous moral fault; and the tradition that she was a social outcast, trampling the Scriptures and the virtues underfoot, a moral castaway, under the ban of all that was lovely and pure and of good report, is as groundless as it is uncharitable. And in the narrative of the Anointing, when a woman who was "a sinner" bathed His feet with her tears—when commentators confuse this evident "sinner" with the Magdalene, it is a pure assumption which has no particle of proof, and which a closer reading of the narrative would show to be impossible.

But the coming of Jesus brings for the Magdalene a new dawn and a new life, with a Sabbath calm upon it and the light of a perpetual summer; and soon we find her leaving all to follow Jesus. She leaves her home by the lake, glad to exchange it for the constant and often weary journeys of the disciple band. Among the quiet hills and mountain-paths of Galilee we trace her footprints; and then we find her down in Judea, walking the crowded streets of Salem,

lingering in the upper-room, climbing the "green hill far away," and hovering about the sacred sepulchre. St. Luke gives us (viii. 2) the names of three elect ladies, who, following Jesus, "ministered unto Him of their substance." St. Mark (xv. 41) tells us of a group of women who stood near the Cross, and who had "ministered" unto Him in Galilee; and out of the "many others" he names three—Mary Magdalene, Mary, the mother of James the less, and Joses, and Salome. We know nothing of Susannah except her name; of Mary, the wife of Clopas, we know but little; Joanna, we read, was the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward; while Salome was the wife of Zebedee, and the mother of James and John. Now these lists of names throw an interesting light upon the subject of our inquiries, for in both lists the name of the Magdalene stands first, implying that she was the moving spirit and recognised leader of this band of ministering women, all of whom were well known; while some of them certainly were ladies of position in society. Zebedee, the husband of Salome, was the head of one of the large fishing businesses in Capernaum, owning a fleet of boats, with "hired servants" to man them. Such was his position that he could afford to send one of his sons, John, to Jerusalem for some years, probably to be educated there; and where, as he was personally known to the high-priest, he would have the *entrée* into the best society of the city. Joanna, as the wife of Herod's steward, would, in all probability, reside at Tiberias, where she would have a close acquaintance with Herod's imposing palace, which was in that city. That the three were intimate friends is certain; and it is more than probable that the friendship existed before the Gospel narrative begins, for Salome lived but five miles from Magdala, and Joanna but three miles to the south, with a good and very busy road between them. So the Magdalene must have been in pros-

perous, if not affluent circumstances, as were the other two ; and they all had means at their disposal, so that they could minister to Christ " of their substance." How they ministered we are not told ; but we do know that Jesus Himself had no visible means of support—His income was but the outcome of the charities of His followers. Indeed, we never find Jesus handling money, except as once He took a Roman penny, that He might teach loyalty to Cæsar—and that was a borrowed penny for which He had no further use. So the " substance " of these ministering women was placed at the Master's disposal, a loving, ungrudging gift. It provided for the daily bread, and the nightly entertainments, with a surplus to replenish the bag, which, strangely enough, a Judas was allowed to carry.

Such was the devotion of the Magdalene to her Lord and Master—a devotion unstinted, unfailing and so unselfish. The twelve were not altogether free from the common frailties of humanity ; and with all that was generous and noble in their attachment to Christ there were the deep veinings of an ill-concealed selfishness. We see it in their childish strivings for precedence and prominence ; the dream of earthly gain, promotion to right- and left-hand thrones was a potent force in the disciples' lives ; and so, directly that dream is broken, we mark a strange vacillation in their conduct. Not one of the twelve touches the body of the dead Christ ! He who would go with Him to the death retires from the scene, blackening his lips with repeated denials ; while of the others we read, " they all forsook Him and fled." It is left for the Arimathean to beg the body, and for Nicodemus to wrap about it his hundred pounds of spices. But the love of the Magdalene is unchanged ; indeed, the Cross seems only to intensify it. With the stricken Mother she lingers by the Cross, feeling in her own soul a vicarious pain and anguish. Then she

follows to the garden, to see where they lay her Lord ; then we see her hastening to the city, to purchase the costly spices for His embalming—for her Holy One must not see corruption. Her affections flowed out as fresh and pure and warm toward the dead Christ as they had done toward the living One. She followed Jesus, she consecrated her life and her substance to Him, not for what He might do, but for what He was, and in her heart the Giver was infinitely above all His gifts.

But Jerusalem gives us the clearest photographs of the Magdalene ; for there she comes out into the glare of the footlights. We do not read of the women of Galilee following Jesus on His former visits to the city, though they have accompanied Him in His triumphal progress through the cities and villages of Galilee. And it *was* a triumphal progress, a Galilean ovation, with the "multitudes" following Him everywhere, pressing upon Him so insistently that He must needs go out into the desert places, or climb the lonely mountain-height, to escape their too-eager attentions. Galilee was all ripe for the revolution which should free them from the Roman yoke ; and had Jesus but given the signal they would at once have proclaimed Him as their Messiah-King. But He refused their proffered royalties, taking Himself away from the applauding crowds. And now, as Jesus sets His face to go up to Jerusalem, many others look and follow in the same direction, but to different goals ; His face was set towards the Cross, while theirs were looking for a coronation. They have heard Jesus speak frequently of "Mine hour," "My time" which has not yet struck, and they have grown weary at the long delay. But the "hour" has struck at last. In Jerusalem, the one centre of their national and spiritual life, Jesus will surely proclaim Himself as the Messiah-King. This was the dream which now drew this Galilean host, together with these

ministering women, to Jerusalem—they would see the pageant of the coronation, and have some honoured part in it! And so they needed no prompting when Jesus sent them forward to requisition the ass and the colt; this Galilean crowd was ready with its palm-branches and hosannas; for the triumphal entry was but the prelude of greater things to follow.

And here we must mention another fact which fits in with the narrative at this point. When the Roman soldiers divided the garments of Jesus they found that He was wearing a "coat," or tunic, of unusual richness and beauty, and one that was all of a piece, "woven from the top throughout." Even to their rude sense of the proprieties it seemed sacrilege to divide it; and each of the four was willing to run the risk of losing it, rather than to be a party in dividing it; and so they cast lots for it. What was the meaning of this rare garment? It must have been the loving gift of some of His intimate followers—perhaps a purple robe for His crowning; at any rate it was a garment which only wealth could buy. And who were so likely to provide this seamless coat as the three Ladies of the Lake, Salome, Joanna and the Magdalene? And where should it be woven but at Magdala, "the city of colour," which was famed above all other cities of the land for the fineness and richness of its linen and woollen wefts? It is, of course, but a conjecture; but it is a conjecture which has a probability on its side, that the seamless coat, the "vesture" of which Prophecy had spoken centuries before, was wrought at Magdala, and that it was the thought and gift, in whole or in part, of the loving Magdalene.

And now it only remains for us to notice the conspicuous place she has in the narratives of the crucifixion. Both St. Mark and St. John speak of "many other women" who had come up from Galilee, and who now stood "afar

off" from the Cross, beholding these things; but there is one group of four standing close up to the Cross—so near that they can hear Jesus speak to the sorrowing Mother, "Woman, behold thy son"! and to John, "Behold thy mother"! as if transferring His own relationship to the beloved disciple, the only one of the twelve whose face we recognise here on Calvary. One of the four who stood nearest to the Cross was Mary, the Mother of Jesus, whose soul the sword at last has pierced; the second was Mary, the wife of Clopas; the third was the faithful Salome; and the fourth was Mary of Magdala, true and loving to the last. Then, as the body is taken down from the Cross, and, enwrapped in the spices which Nicodemus has bought, is laid tenderly to rest in Joseph's sepulchre, we find the Magdalene and the wife of Clopas sitting "over against the sepulchre," and carefully observing how the body was laid. Then, returning to their home, they prepare their spices and ointment for the embalming. Again as we read the incidents of that first Easter morning—in those kinematic pictures the Evangelists draw for us, it is the Magdalene who is the central prominent figure. It is she who in the dusk leads out this band of ministering women to the garden, carrying their spices for the last sad rites. It is she who brings to the disciples the message of the angels and the tidings of the emptied sepulchre—"running," as St. John tells us, for he had noticed how breathless she was, to announce, "They have taken the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid Him"!

But the story does not end here, for Mary must yet see her "Lord" for herself. As she lingers alone by the tomb Jesus Himself approaches. Altered in appearance He is, for it is our resurrection body that He wears now, and in her bewilderment she takes Him for the gardener. "If thou hast borne Him hence," she says, "tell me where thou

hast laid Him, and I will take Him away!" Foolish, wandering words! as if *she* could take Him away! But it was her heart-flutter which shook her lips, and made her speak in such incoherent ways. Jesus speaks but one word, but it is her own name, "Mary"! and in an instant the very heavens seem opened above her; wonder, love and joy thrill her soul; and, falling at His feet, she answers with her glad "*Rabboni*!" So does Jesus honour the faithful, loving soul, who has left all to follow Him, and who has found her truest, deepest joy in ministering to her "Lord," as she loved to call Him; and before the risen Christ met the gathered disciples in the upper room, before He has joined the two on their Emmaus journey, before He has given to Simon that private interview, whose secrets he was not allowed to tell, yea, before He has shown Himself to the Mother whose arms had carried Him through the helpless years, Jesus has appeared to the Magdalene. He has called her by her name; He has made her His messenger to the first of churches, sending through her His first message to His "brethren," as He calls them; and it is the Magdalene who carries to Peter, John and the rest of the disciples the words of Jesus, "I ascend unto My Father and to your Father, and to my God and your God!"

We read no more of her. She vanishes from our sight, as is meet, amid the perfume of her unused spices and the glories of the resurrection. Like another Mary, Heaven has greatly honoured her; and, highly favoured of the Lord, all generations shall call her Blessed!

HENRY BURTON.

THE TWO WITNESSES.

Our method of solving or trying to solve the problem of the Two Witnesses must of course depend upon the view we take of the purpose of the Apocalypse itself. Most modern commentators insist on regarding the writer as deliberately elaborating word cartoons of the people and places of his own day. Thus one of the wild beasts is made to stand for the Emperor Nero and the other beast or the false prophet is taken to represent the heathen priesthood in the Roman Empire. It might well be asked what conceivable use would be served by this laborious translation of current history into confused and cryptic imagery, and what value for the present or the future can be attached to a book whose interpretation is so completely bound up with events which have long since passed away. Nor do we get any better results from the fantastic efforts made at different times to identify the great figures of the book with outstanding personalities of this or that particular age, with Luther or the Pope or Napoleon or the Kaiser. Such efforts can only proceed from a total misconception of the meaning of Apocalypse and they go far to make sober-minded people avoid the subject altogether.

On the other hand, if we once realise that Apocalypse is the unveiling of spiritual forces both good and evil which lie behind historic processes and manifest themselves through great personalities, it will be plain that while its imagery cannot be meant to portray the events or places or persons of any particular age, yet every age in which these forces are in evidence will find in the book a living message for itself. Perhaps we may realise this more clearly if we compare the function of the seer with that of a Prophet Painter like G. F. Watts. Take, for example, his picture

of the ponderous imperial figure, magnificent in vulgar splendour, with the stupid bestial face and the heavy hands and feet crushing all unconsciously the life out of finer and more fragile forms than its own. The painter calls it "Mammon," and it is in very truth an Apocalypse of the spirit of grasping and brutal selfishness against which the protest is to-day so loud and the reaction so violent. To say that it is the portrait of this or that "Oil King" or "Coal King" or of some Sir Anthony Gloucester who "died a baronite" would be to make just the mistake of those Praeterists and Futurists who identify the figures of the book with Caesars and Luthers and Kaisers. Yet in what age can we not find manifestations of Watts' "Mammon"? And how good it is that the glittering disguise should be torn from selfishness and that greed should be seen in all its hideousness and vulgar stupidity?

In like manner we are safe to say that the figures of the Apocalypse represent abstractions and are not to be taken as the cartoons or caricatures of historical personalities. Imagery is to intuition what metaphor is to the lower faculty of the reason. It is its natural language and its appropriate expression. If this is true, then in asking ourselves what the Two Witnesses stand for we must rule out all attempts to identify them with particular persons such as Enoch and Elijah, or Moses and Elijah, or Elijah and Elisha. Apart from the fact that such efforts at identification make manifest nonsense of the whole passage, it is surely little short of fantastic to look for historical characters in such a background as "the great city which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also their Lord was crucified." That, with all its suggestions of corruption and bondage and hostility to Christ, may be a very good mystical description of "the world" in the sense in which St. John frequently uses the phrase, but it would be as difficult to locate on the map

as Bunyan's famous town of Mansoul or Vanity Fair. We may recognise Judge Hategood or Sir Having Greedy as types with which we are not unfamiliar, but we do not look them up in the pages of "Who's Who."

On the other hand we can, I think, find an intelligible answer if we ask ourselves, What two witnesses are there to the power of God and to the reality of things unseen—witnesses living all down the ages, exercising the powers of the spiritual world and tormenting sinners by making them realise the nature and the consequences of sin?

What two agencies are there which must, while they are alive, be opposed to the world and by the world, which when their testimony ceases, can be slain by the power of evil, and yet can inevitably and triumphantly revive? There are two such agencies by means of which God has ever kept before the world the witness of the Unseen. They are distinct but complimentary, differing completely in function and method but one in purpose, and they are inevitably most unpopular when they are most alive, earnest, and sincere. They are the agency of the Priest and the agency of the Prophet. We may go to any nation we will; we may study the history of any age, always and everywhere we shall find in some form or other the evidence of their work. Man was made to know God. His real and permanent affinities are with the spiritual world, and therefore as naturally as the physical body develops organs of seeing and hearing which bring around us the worlds of colour and sound, so naturally does human society in the priesthood and in the prophetical office develop religious organs which bring it into living contact with that higher world.

We may say generally that the function of the Priesthood is to give outward expression to revealed truth, to enshrine it in form and in phrase, to guard, preserve, and transmit it in rite and sacrament and to bear witness to the im-

portance of the things which are unseen and eternal. Its instinct is to value and cherish what is good in the past, to reverence tradition, to observe order and ceremony, to be suspicious of change and to adopt an attitude of careful conservatism.

Its dangers are obvious and scarcely require emphasis. They are to be satisfied with outward form or pious phrase, in time of crisis to look exclusively backwards like Lot's wife, to develop deafness towards the living voice of God and to oppose progress in the present in the name of loyalty to the past. There is no more striking example of these dangers than that given by the Evangelist in the dramatic scene in which the Jewish High Priest, robed in the holy vestments of his religion and embodying all the traditions of his God-given faith, calls for the condemnation of the Son of God Himself. "Then the High Priest rent his clothes."

It is just to meet these dangers that the duality of the witness is necessary. The function of the Priest, important as it is, must be supplemented by that of the Prophet. It is the part of the latter to hear inwardly and to proclaim outwardly the living voice of the living God. His face is towards the future rather than the past. He intervenes in the present with some burning message bearing on the abuses or the opportunities of the time.

The instincts of the prophetical office are reforming and its fire is generated from the clashing of the vision of a great ideal with the sight of a present abuse.

"Lo! Thy word was as it were a fire in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay."

There is no mistaking the source of the fire that flamed in the face of the Christ as He drove the quailing traders out of the Temple and overturned the tables of the money-changers and sent their money rolling through the Temple courts. The ideal and the abuse whose conflict generates it

are both contained in the indignant words, "It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of robbers."

Like the Priesthood, the office of the Prophet has its own dangers. History shows it to be subject to fits of a stupid iconoclasm and dangerous rashness. It always needs, and it often has lacked, a sense of reverence and a realisation of the vital importance of continuity.

Thus it will be seen that the dangers of the two offices tend to neutralise each other and that by bearing their dual witness side by side they best fulfil the will and purpose of God. Indeed the functions of Priest and Prophet are not infrequently found united in the same person and although historically they have often been in conflict such opposition can only exist when at least one has fallen from its true ideal. Their "testimony" is essentially the same. Each is in its own way in touch with the powers unseen. The Priest and the Prophet—the Joshua and Zerubbabel of every age—are "the two anointed ones which stand before the Lord of the whole earth."

To these two influences the world—"which," as St. John says, "lieth in the evil one"—is necessarily hostile. It has no wish to be reminded of the spiritual and the eternal, and so to be forced to acknowledge the trifling and transitory character of all its values. It does not want to hear about "temperance, righteousness and judgment to come." Accordingly we are told that the Beast—which stands for the spirit of grasping selfishness—made war against them, and the Angel Guide who instructed the seer reveals a terrible possibility when he tells us that the beast prevailed.

Both the Priesthood and the Prophetical office as witnesses for God can be overcome, and have been overcome, by the spirit of worldliness and selfishness. The Church may cease to be a living force, the creed may become—sometimes has

become—a set of meaningless phrases and its services mere empty forms. As Matthew Arnold said of the world before the French Revolution,

> "Its form still stood without a breach
> When life and warmth were fled,
> And still it spake its wonted speech,
> But every word was dead."

The same triumph of worldliness may slay the Prophet as a witness. He may be persuaded or tempted into prophesying "smooth things" and to indulge in "the easy speeches which comfort cruel men." So in the eyes of Heaven both are slain. Their power to torment has gone. Their dead body lies in the street of the city. The world does not suffer them to be buried. It tolerates, establishes and despises a dead Church. It cries out for a religion which will throw around it the mantle of respectability but which will make no real demands on its life. It wants the form; it values the phrase; it likes services of the "Church parade" type which commit it to nothing. It builds and garnishes the sepulchres of the prophets. It writes over them in letters of gold, "May they rest—and leave us to rest—in peace."

It is only the living Prophet and the living Priesthood that it dreads. Sacraments which bring men into living contact with a living Christ, the word that is quick and powerful and sharper than any two-edged sword, the message which strikes against the pleasant abuses of the present day, these are what it hates. In the name of the dead prophets it stones those which are alive. "We are Moses' disciples, but as for this man we know not from whence he is."

"They suffer not their dead bodies to be laid in a tomb." The rejoicing of the world over a dead Church as well as its anger against a Church which is alive is well expressed in G. K. Chesterton's striking "Ballad of God-makers."

The Christ as Prophet has alarmed the Kings of the Nations. The world is going after Him. They discern in His teaching revolutionary tendencies which will turn the world upside down.

"If he speak two more words," they said,
"The slave is more than the free;
"If he speak three more words," they said,
"The stars are under the sea."

Said the King of the East to the King of the West,
I wot his frown was set,
"Lo, let us slay him and make him as dung,
It is well that the world forget."

Said the King of the West to the King of the East,
I wot his smile was dread,
"Nay, let us slay him and make him a god;
It is well that our god be dead."

They set the young man on a hill,
They nailed him to a rod,
And there in darkness and in blood
They made themselves a god.

And the mightiest word was left unsaid,
And the world had never a mark,
And the strongest man of the sons of men
Went dumb into the dark.

Then hymns and harps of gold they brought,
Incense and gold and myrrh,
And they thronged above the seraphim
The poor dead Carpenter.

Then, when for a moment it seemed that He was still alive,

"A shriek went up, like the world's last cry,
From all nations under heaven,
And a master fell before a slave
And prayed to be forgiven.

They cowered for dread in His wakened eyes
The ancient wrath to see—"

It can at least be said that the interpretation of the Problem of the Two Witnesses given above is in harmony

with the nature of Apocalypse, and that avoiding the manifest absurdities involved in identifying them with historical persons, it deals with forces and tendencies which are always active in the world, and thus emphasises the practical value of the Book for people of every generation.

H. Erskine Hill.

THE DISPLACEMENT OF JOHN VII. 37–44.

I do not remember it ever having been suggested that in John vii. 37–44 we have another of the cases of displacement which are probably to be found in this Gospel. In vii. 32 we are told how the chief priests and Pharisees sent servants in order to arrest Jesus. It has already been suggested, and in all probability quite correctly, that verses 15–24 are another case of displacement, and that they should really come after verse 47. If that be so, then the discussion related in vii, 25–31 takes place on the middle day of the feast, according to vii. 14. On the same day the Pharisees and priests send the servants to arrest Jesus. When they arrive on the scene, Jesus begins to speak about His going away in such a mysterious way that the people wonder whether He intends to go to the Diaspora. Then we are told (vii. 37) that, on the last day of the feast, Jesus stood up and cried, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." As a result of this, there is a controversy among the people. Some say that Jesus is the Christ, and some say that He is not. Some of them wish to arrest Him, but no one laid hands on Him. Then we return, in verse 45, to the servants. We are told that they went back to their masters, without having arrested Jesus, giving as their reason, "No man ever spake as this man."

It seems fairly clear that there is a want of connexion here, and what I should suggest is that the whole section

vii. 37–44 should be put after vii. 52. The advantages of this are : it preserves the connexion between verses 32 and 45. As at present arranged, the author seems to have forgotten all about them. He finishes speaking about the discussion of Jesus on the middle day of the feast, then goes on to relate what happened on the last day, and then suddenly remembers that he has not finished the story of the attempted arrest, and so goes back a little. This does not strike one as the method any author would adopt, much less an author who has drawn up his writing in the careful way given to us in the Fourth Gospel. But if we put vii. 37–44 after vii. 52 we have a perfectly good sequence of events. In verse 10 we are told that Jesus goes up to the feast, in 14–36 and 45–52 the teaching and attempted arrest on the middle day of the feast, in 37–44 the teaching on the last day of the feast. The discussion of the people in verses 41–44 shows that the doubts and wonderings of the religious leaders are beginning to make themselves felt among the ordinary people.

If we ask for the reason of the displacement, no other answer seems to be possible except the one that it is deliberate. A close study of the Gospel seems to point quite clearly to the fact that we have to do with two distinct writers. The one wrote the main part of the Gospel, *i.e.* chapters i.–xx., and the second wrote chapter xxi., and at the same time interfered in two ways with the main body. He inserted a matter of a dozen or more verses, mainly to interpret or modify the text. He also transposed many passages. For the number and nature of the displacements are such that we are almost forced to say that they are intentional, in some cases, at any rate. Here, apparently, the redactor could not find in the text any reason why the servants went back without arresting Jesus. "No man ever spake as this man" does not seem sufficient reason. The people

were in doubt over Jesus, and formed two parties. But the party on the side of Jesus was strong enough to prevent an arrest. Of course, this was not the reason. The servants themselves give the real reason. If their numbers had been too small to arrest Jesus, they would have said so. They would not have excused themselves by saying that they had been won over by the teaching of Jesus. To an extent, in its present position, verse 46 is hard to understand.

The argument may be raised that if the redactor so went to work, he was a very careless one. Well, in any case, we have to do with either a careless author or a careless redactor. And the phenomena of the Gospel certainly seem to show that the redactor was lacking both in care and in sympathy, although sometimes he is possessed of real historical knowledge.

H. J. Flowers.

THE FESTIVAL OF CHRISTIANITY.

In 1648 George Fox wandered into Nottinghamshire to preach the gospel according to the Quakers in the vale of Beavor. "One morning," he writes in his journal, "as I was sitting by the fire, a great cloud came over me, and a temptation beset me." He then describes the dark suggestion: "It was said, 'all things come by nature'; and the elements and stars came over me, so that I was in a manner quite clouded with it. . . . And as I sat still under it and let it alone, a living hope arose in me, and a true voice, which said, 'There *is* a living God, which made all things.' And immediately the cloud and the temptation vanished away, and life rose over it all; my heart was glad, and I praised the living God."

Sixteen hundred years earlier, when Christianity began to push out into the civilisation around the Mediterranean basin, it found a world clouded in several quarters by the same sort of fear. The elements and the stars had come over them. We read in our English Bible how Paul spoke about the danger of being *in bondage under the elements of the world*, about *the weak and beggarly elements*. The R.V. darkens counsel [1] by putting *rudiments* for *elements*, and even the A.V. is unintelligible till we print *Elements* with a capital

[1] I say this in full view of a slight tendency among recent editors of Galatians like A. L. Williams, Zahn, Lagrange, and Professor Burton, to rehabilitate the hypothesis that στοιχεῖα meant no more to Paul than the rudimentary religious level upon which men are pre-occupied with the mundane and the material. This will not suit the context of the allusions in Galatians or in Colossians (ii. 8, 20).

letter. For they were no shadowy abstractions. They were not even an equivalent for the weather, as we speak about being exposed to the elements, i.e. cold and wind and rain. For those who lived in the world of Paul the *elements* were especially the seven planets, and also the four zones of fire, air, water and earth, which in the Greek system of thought lay under the sphere of the moon, terribly real powers. "To these four principles, as well as to the constellations, the Greeks gave the name of στοιχεῖα. . . . By the end of the pagan period, the divinity of these physical agents was a religious principle accepted by all heathendom."[1] The Oriental did not speak about all things coming by nature, but he knew what the phrase means; he felt caught and bound by a supernatural tyranny which threatened to determine his fate, from the cradle to the grave, and even beyond the grave. He felt, as one Greek writer put it in the second century of our era, that he was compelled to march through life in the ranks of a host officered by these autocratic spirits of the sky. The stars determine and decide the lot of man. Sometimes you can discover your fate by means of star-gazing or divination, but it is fixed for you. From Babylonia in its later days right across to Mexico this weird belief prevailed; the elements and the stars had come over man, and he had either to succumb or to discover something which might serve to counteract their benumbing influence.

To understand the full relief brought by the Christian gospel, we must put ourselves into the position of people clouded by this superstition. There was, of course, the belief that things happened by chance, as there still is. The

[1] Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, pp. 121, 122. Paul is apparently the first to call the elemental spirits στοιχεῖα. Pflister (*Philologus*, lxix. 3, 411 f.) quotes τὰ γὰρ κοσμικὰ στοιχεῖα λόγῳ πάντα αὐτῷ ὑπετάσσετο (σ. being defined as angels, etc., or as the upper and lower gods), from the later "Alexander the Great" Greek romance.

contradictory and painful experiences of life, the sudden reverses of fortune which befall individuals and nations, the ruthless way in which military powers played fast and loose with civilisation, and the convulsive shocks which lasted into the forenoon of the Roman Empire, these suggested to some minds that men were at the mercy of chance. Chance, at first, seems widely different from Fate. But it was not so far from the idea of fate in the first century; and for this reason. Once you regarded Chance as a sort of deity or weird power—and the Oriental personified his abstract conceptions, in popular usage—it became a capricious being, which had its own way with human puppets. When Fate seemed whimsical to men, she really became Chance. When it was impossible to calculate upon anything in life, and when accident appeared the one clue to events, the superstitious tendency in human nature turned from Fate to Chance. If you could not see any relation between man's merits and his fate, if the world rolled on indifferently, so that time and chance happened to all men, Chance was the sole explanation. Or rather, when you could not offer any explanation, you said "Chance" or "Luck." Fate was called "Fortuna," and fortune might be called Sors or chance. In the long run, this kind of religion or irreligious philosophy empties life of meaning. Indeed the worship of Chance, as if that were the last word on life, throws many people back upon the worship of Fate. They would rather have a tyrant than a clown over the world. An iron fatalism has its drawbacks, but it is at any rate intelligible, it imparts a sort of unity to the world, and even a dignity to human life. You have a destiny; it may not be exhilarating, still it is not accidental, and the soul resents the notion of accident or chance over the universe. At the same time whether it was Chance or Fate, ultimately it did not matter very much. The one was as arbitrary and alien as the other.

Hence the ancient world sometimes failed to draw any sharp distinction between them.

In Paul's day this cloud of fatalism had settled upon many people, coloured by an astrology which the Chaldeans had cultivated both as science and as religion. There was resistance offered to it, no doubt. The Epicureans put it aside, holding freewill along with what we would call natural law ; they were indifferent to astrology and denied fatalism as part and parcel of the superstitions which popular religion inflicted upon a longsuffering world. If Paul discussed religion with the Epicurean sages at Athens, he would know that they insisted on an element of contingency in the future and disavowed any idea of an all-embracing necessity. Horace, for example, was a cheerful Epicurean when he told Leuconoë not to bother her pretty head about destiny :—

> "Seek not, it is forbidden,
> What destiny may be
> Within the future hidden
> For us, Leuconoë,
> Nor try to tempt assurance
> From Chaldic astrology."

Astrology, indeed, with its belief in the connexion between the stars and human fate, was too transcendental to appeal to the bulk of Romans. The Romans were not speculative, and although the infection had seized them by the end of the first century, many still regarded it with shame and scorn as another foreign delusion. Among the Stoics, too, there were clear thinkers who declined to be swept away by the vogue of astrological religion. But these were, upon the whole, exceptions. "Astrology fell upon the Hellenistic mind as a new disease falls upon some remote island people. . . . In all the religious systems of later antiquity, if I mistake not, the Seven Planets play some lordly or terrifying part. . . . The various Hermetic and Mithraic communities, the Naassenes described by Hippolytus, the Gnostic

bodies most of all, authors like Macrobius and even Cicero in his *Somnium Scipionis*, are full of the influence of the Seven Planets and of the longing to escape beyond them. For by some simple psychological law, the stars which have inexorably pronounced our fate, and decreed, or at least registered the decree, that in spite of all our striving we must needs tread their prescribed path . . . become inevitably powers of evil, rather than good, beings malignant as well as pitiless, making life a vain thing. . . . The religion of later antiquity is overpoweringly absorbed in plans of escape from the Seven Planets." [1]

We know how relief was sought. Greek mysteries offered their worshippers unison with a god who was above these tyrannical stars and elements; they provided pass-words for the soul after death to evade the powers of darkness and attain the goal of bliss; they pointed the soul on earth to such means as ecstasy, or asceticism, or sacramental feasts, in order to reach the freedom of being identified with a higher god. That was one way, and it was popular. Secure the protection of a deity superior to these Elements, get into communion with him, and you can draw breath. So the worshippers of deities like Mithra and Isis sought escape from the oppression of Fate, from an inexorable necessity which worked through deified Elements of the cosmos.

Another way, less religious but more on the lines of practical sense, was taken by people who were not drawn to the emotional and devotional gospel of the mysteries. It is marked out by Stoic writers like Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, who either identified the deity with Fate or Destiny or else made the latter morally supreme. Man's duty was submission to Destiny or Providence as the reasonable order of the universe. "All things work together for good," they would say, "to those who obey the Reason of

[1] *The Hibbert Journal*, ix. 1, pp. 24 f.

the world," who fill their place in the scheme without murmuring. The Stoic refused to see anything capricious or arbitrary in this Destiny. When some one told Carlyle once that Margaret Fuller, the American transcendentalist, had exclaimed, "Well, I accept the universe," Carlyle grimly retorted, "Gad, she'd better!" That was the steel tonic of the Stoics, at any rate of the best among them. They accepted the universe, not so much indeed because they had to, as because they chose to. Their opinions about Destiny wavered, but invariably they urged obedience and acquiescence ignoring astrological views as far as they could, and preaching a cosmic loyalty to man as his one hope of peace and freedom. In some cases indeed this acquiescence was preached with a glow which lent it a religious sanction.

Naturally, this path did not attract the majority of early Christians. Their tendency was in the other direction. For one thing, although magic had filtered over into some circles of Judaism already, the Jewish converts in the Church had been trained in a religion which clung bravely to faith in providence. Belief in chance or fate never throve within Judaism; that religion was too moral and monotheistic. For another thing, while the religious nature is more apt to relapse upon fatalism than upon any philosophy or religion of chance, as a rule, an impersonal or personified providence was no serious rival of monotheistic faith as taught by the Old Testament. And yet, explain it as we may, what Paul even in the first century found it necessary to warn some of his churches against was the fascination and danger of this current belief in the stars or Elements. Some of his converts were tempted not to Stoicism but to superstition. They were not far from the edge of this astrological fatalism. They had been brought over the line by the gospel, but when trouble arose or Christian faith relaxed under pressure, they were liable to step back to the old way of thinking that

deliverance from these dark world-powers had to be ensured by recourse to other methods than those of the Christian redemption. The danger was evidently acute in some of the churches in Asia Minor, where Hellenistic or Oriental theosophies were rampant, and where the cult of angels or intermediate powers seems to have developed even within some movements of unofficial Judaism.

This, for example, is the point of the apostle's remonstrance (Gal. iv. 3–10) with the Christians of Galatia, who were yielding to the propaganda of ritualism which, the Jewish Christian conservatives insisted, was the completion of a spiritual religion. "Completion!" says Paul; it means a retrograde movement back to the level of your original paganism. He puts the Jewish legal ritualism on the same footing as the astrological superstition of pagan cults, just as he suggests that circumcision corresponds to the mutilation occasionally practised in these cults. As the law involved the calculation of seasons by observation of the heavenly bodies, it was so far allied to the sway of the celestial powers, from which the gospel ought to have finally released all Christians.[1] *When we were under age*, in our immature state, as yet ignorant of the true God, *we lived under the thraldom*[2] *of the elemental spirits of the world*. From the standpoint of the freedom enjoyed by Christians as sons of God, any differences between Jewish and pagan religion disappeared for the moment; both implied an inferior cosmic position. Presently he comes back to this,

[1] A passage like Col. ii. 14–17 "may even suggest that it was from these sinister beings the Law derived its authority. But in view of what the Apostle says elsewhere, such a depreciatory judgment can hardly be regarded as deliberate" (Prof. Morgan, *The Religion and Theology of Paul*, p. 82).

[2] δεδουλωμένοι is against any theory of the στοιχεῖα being a rudimentary stage of the divine education, suited to immature pupils. Paul does not even allow this of the Jewish Law, for the proper rendering of his words in iii. 24 is, *the Law held us as wards in discipline, till such time as Christ came.*

and appeals directly to the Galatians, bidding them contrast their pagan religion with that of the gospel. *In those days, when you were ignorant of God, you were in servitude to gods who are really no gods at all; but now that you know God* as His sons—*or rather, are known by God, how is it you are turning back again to the weakness and poverty of the elemental spirits? Why do you want to be enslaved all over again*[1] *by them? You observe days and months and festal seasons and years!*[2] The tone of contempt for the astrological religion is quite audible. Paul holds that any collocation of spiritual freedom with such a ritual order as was proposed to the Galatians was a relapse from maturity to childishness, from the open-air to the fetters of superstition. And he rests his argument upon the Christian experience of freedom through faith in Jesus Christ. In God s revelation made through His Son all was given that was required for health and growth and peace in the universe. God had set up a household of His own on earth, where His sons could be free from any tyranny like that of the Elements or the Seven Planets or the Jewish Law. Astrological fatalism was an outgrown fear. The only danger was that in toying with any ceremonial supplement to their faith, Christians might fall back into the dread from which the spiritual, redemptive gospel of Christ had emancipated them.

The meaning of *στοιχεῖα* is clear in this passage. Elsewhere it may denote rudiments; the author of Hebrews speaks of *the rudimentary principles of the divine revelation* (*τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ*, v. 12). This is unambiguous. But when Paul equates the *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου* with the gods whom the Galatians used to

[1] The reiterated *πάλιν ἄνωθεν* is emphatic; the phrase occurs in *Wisdom* xix. 6 (*ὅλη γὰρ ἡ κτίσις ἐν ἰδίῳ γένει πάλιν ἄνωθεν διετυποῦτο*) and *ἄνωθεν* = again in Epict. ii. 17–27.

[2] Perhaps sabbatical years (as in Lev. xxv.).

worship—and this is not a mere personification—he is striking out a new sense for the term, as new as his idea of collocating Judaism and its law with paganism and its astral or element-worship. The same interpretation is necessary for the later passage in Colossians (ii. 8–10), where he refutes the local theosophy which demanded a cult of angels as imtermediaries in revelation and providence. *Beware of any one getting hold of you by means of a theosophy which is specious make-believe, on the lines of human tradition* (*κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν*[1] *τῶν ἀνθρώπων*), *corresponding to the elemental spirits of the world and not to Christ. It is in Christ* (*ἐν αὐτῷ*, not in the elemental spirits who were supposed to embody the divine fulness) *that the entire Fulness of deity has settled bodily* (*σωματικῶς*, i.e. actually and completely), *it is in him that you reach your full life, and he is the Head of every angelic Ruler and Power.*[2] The antithesis here is between Christ as the sole medium of creation and revelation, requiring no supplement, and a religious theosophy which explained the cosmos by means of celestial spirits, deducing from them a philosophy and religion, requiring them to be invoked, and insinuating that Christ was merely one of them. The *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου* are, as in Galatians, the elemental spirits, and the argument is that Christ is superior to them and in Himself sufficient for all the needs of the soul. *As you died with Christ to the elemental spirits of the world, why live as if you still belonged to the world?*

It is possible that a similar idea was in his mind when he told the Roman Christians, *You have received no slavish spirit that would make you relapse into fear; you have received the spirit of sonship.*[3] But I do not press this; the

[1] A technical term for the traditional lore of magical theosophy whose secrets (names of the deities or rites for their worship) were committed to "prophets" by the gods, and transmitted to the initiated.

[2] Just as Yahweh in the Old Testament is "Lord of Hosts," and "the host of heaven" is ranked under Him.

[3] Rom. viii. 15.

main reference here is to the Jewish law. A clearer illustration of his general position on the matter is furnished by an incidental remark elsewhere. He is urging the Church of Corinth to excommunicate a member who had been guilty of incest (1 Cor. v. 6–8). He tells them that just as pious Jews swept every crumb of leaven out of their houses before the annual celebration of the Passover, so Christians must keep themselves absolutely clear of all inconsistent elements. Then he broadens the thought.[1] *Clean out the old dough that you may be a fresh lump. For you are free from the old leaven* [2] (i.e. baptized and formed into a fresh, pure community); *Christ our paschal lamb has been sacrificed.* Then continuing the metaphor and clinching the argument he proceeds: *therefore let us celebrate our festival, not with any old leaven, not with vice and evil, but with the unleavened bread of innocence and integrity.* Note the point of the metaphor. As every particle of leaven had to be removed from a strict Jewish household prior to the killing of the paschal lamb, and as unleavened bread alone was eaten during the festival, so Christians must purify themselves and observe their festival by an ethical scrupulousness. *So let us celebrate our festival* (ἑορτάζωμεν). What festival? Not the Jewish passover, though the time of year (xvi. 8) may have brought before his mind all that it meant to Jews. Not even the Christian eucharist. The word refers to the Christian life, as the Greek fathers recognised. "All time is a festival," said Chrysostom, "since the Son of God has redeemed you from death." It was a metaphorical expression familiar to the Greeks. Paul would not get it from the Greek Bible, for ἑορτάζειν is used in the LXX literally, as a rule. But the

[1] Note the vigorous asyndeton. Christians are the fresh lump and also, by a swift turn of thought, the household that clears out the leaven.

[2] Ignatius has this passage in mind when he tells the church of Magnesia to "dispense with the evil leaven which has grown old and sour" (*Magn.* x. 2), but he means by this the Jewish religion. Paul does not.

figurative sense had been for long common in Greek literature. Thucydides (i. 70), for example, makes the Corinthians pay this tribute to the indefatigable temper of the Athenians, *μήτε ἑορτὴν ἄλλο τι ἡγεῖσθαι ἢ τὸ τὰ δέοντα πρᾶξαι*: "they consider that doing their duty is their one festival" (or, holiday), *ἑορτή* conveying the sense of pleasure—a phrase which seven centuries later appealed to Origen.[1] The notion of the thoughtful or philosophical man's life being a fine festival was one of the Stoics' favourite ideas; evil men are *ἀνεορτάστους, τὸ γὰρ ἑορτάζειν ἀστείου φασὶν εἶναι, τῆς ἑορτῆς οὔσης χρόνου τινὸς ἐν ᾧ χρὴ περὶ τὸ θεῖον γίγνεσθαι τιμῆς χάριν καὶ καθηκούσης ἐπισημασίας, ὅθεν καὶ τὸν ἑορτάζοντα συγκαθεικέναι δεῖ μετ' εὐσεβείας εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην τάξιν.*[2] It was a common phrase in Philo, who repeatedly employs the metaphor. Thus, in commenting upon Numbers xxviii. 2 ("my offerings shall ye observe to offer to me in their due season"—*ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς μου*), he remarks that "the festival of the soul (*ἑορτὴ ψυχῆς*) is to be cheerful in the practice of the perfect virtues," and that "only the wise man celebrates such a festival (*ἑορτάζει τὴν τοιαύτην ἑορτήν*)," since it involves emancipation from evil passions.[3] Again, in beginning his discussion[4] of the ten Jewish festivals, he moralises over the fact that while the wise, by their self-control and high-minded temper, make the whole of life a happy festival (*ὡς μηδένα καιρὸν ἐλλείπειν ἱλαροῦ*

[1] He quotes it (*contra Celsum*, viii. 21, 22) as a saying of a Greek sage to define the true "festival: he keeps a true festival who does his duty and prays constantly, offering always bloodless sacrifices and prayers to God"—this against the demand of Celsus that Christians should participate in the public festivals of the Empire. Then he proceeds to argue that, although Christians did celebrate special festivals like Pentecost, yet the true Christian was always keeping festival by his life of faith and devotion.

[2] Quoted from Stobaeus by Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, iii. pp. 165, 166.

[3] *De Sacrific. Abeli et Caini*, 33.

[4] *De Septenario*, 4, 5.

βίου, πάντα δὲ τὸν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ κύκλον εἶναι ἑορτήν), the wicked man cannot enjoy any festival even for a time (οὐδὲ τὸν βραχύτατον χρόνον ἑορτάζει). Or, in speaking of the ascetic discipline required for inward bliss, he observes, ψυχῆς δὲ ἑορτὴ ζῆλος ὁ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ τελεσφορούμενος πόνος.[1] Similarly Clement of Alexandria described the life of the perfect Christian who excels ordinary believers as a πανήγυρις: "his entire life is a sacred festival."[2] But what Clement says of the higher life into which only Christians who were able to practise a mystical philosophy could hope to enter, Paul says of the Christian life as such. He is not thinking of a set of contemplative saints but of the Christian Church as a whole. He remembered how every year as a Jew he had eaten the Passover feast at his father's table, in grateful commemoration of God's deliverance of Israel from the tyranny of Egypt. Now to him as a Christian in the Church the sacrifice of Jesus had a similar epoch-making significance, though upon a vaster scale. It had introduced a new order of freedom and fellowship between God and man, revealing the divine will for the world as a will of love and power. As the celebration of the Passover had re-assured him, in his Jewish days, of God's living and continued care for His people, so the sacrifice of Jesus encouraged him as a Christian. It made life a festival. *Let us celebrate our festival.* For our Host is on intimate terms with us, in a heart-to-heart fellowship, which removes any fears of fate. Christians are in touch with a friendly God, not with an absolute force or a blind fate. They can be sure of a living, loving God, within the powers of nature. The terms upon which He meets them are those of affection and authority. Christianity is not spiritual relief sent in to prisoners under the clutch of a foreign power in this world, to keep up their hearts and sustain their strength; Jesus

[1] *De Congressu*, 28. [2] *Stromata*, vii. 49.

meant something deeper than this by His teaching about God's sovereignty, and Paul saw something deeper in His work. That something involved for Christians lordship over the world, a position of freedom and fellowship which enabled them to face external things without fear or hesitation. Christianity, in short, as this phrase of Paul's reminds us, implies that we are not cogs and wheels in an iron machine of Fate, with religion as a sort of lubricating oil dropped upon our souls in order to assuage the heat and ease the friction; as Christians we are the guests of God, set to live our life before Him in a world-order over which He has control and in which He has a place for those whom He has redeemed from sin and death.

This is one of the fundamental thoughts in Paul's interpretation of Christianity. He expresses it in different forms, but that of the festival is particularly striking when we recollect the associations of the idea for him and his readers. To us a festival is a social gathering, a jollification which has no religious function or suggestion whatever. But to the apostle and the Corinthians it conveyed its ancient sense of a banquet in presence of a God; it was a religious occasion, half a service, half a common meal, but one at which men gathered round their God as Host and Patron or Protector, enjoying relief from care and also a sense of security in His presence. The religious notion of life as a festival meant the generosity and guardianship of God as a source of glad, intimate confidence. God's guests were satisfied with Him, with the position in which He had placed them, and could look out undismayed upon their surroundings and prospects. Primarily, no doubt, it is the Jewish association of ἑορτή which is in the apostle's mind, the thought of how Jews lived cheerfully during the days of their Passover festival, and how this cheerfulness involved the obligation of ritual cleanliness. But the pagan associa-

tions of the term and idea must have been also present to him and his readers, the Hellenistic suggestion of life lived in the presence of God as Host and protector. At any rate, the fundamental conception is unambiguous, the conception of the Christian life as free from care and fear, relieved of haunting terrors bred from an isolation of the soul in some fatalistic universe.

For Paul this experience depended upon the redemptive work of Christ, which gave a new sense of freedom through forgiveness. Christ's atoning sacrifice was interpreted by him as imparting a new lift to the soul, such as no system of penitential religion like that of the Jewish law could provide. To be pardoned, on the terms of the gospel meant a welcome escape from the thraldom of sin and death. *Let us celebrate our festival*, now that our sacrifice has been offered. The Christian confidence is the consequence of what Christ has suffered for our sins.

Such a vital connection between redemption and Christian cheerfulness has been often stressed, and as often it has been pointed out that any failure to recognise the atoning significance of Christ's death is apt to lower the experience of joy in Christianity. Dr. Dale once said of Dean Stanley that "the absence of joy in his religious life was only the inevitable effect of his conception of God's method of saving men; in parting with the Lutheran truth concerning justification he parted with the springs of gladness." [1] But the most admirable statement of this occurs in a letter of James Smetham, and, although the passage is long, I shall venture to quote it for its bearing on this truth. He had been reading a sermon written by Cardinal Manning. "With this school of theologians," he writes, "there is no doubt a strong sense of the *evil* of sin. But it is like the sense of sin which the lost have in its fulness: Merlin,

[1] *Life of R. W. Dale*, p. 666.

with his hand on his aching heart, pacing for ever in enchanted forests, crushed and haunted and vexed for ever by dim unappeasable foreshadowings of doom—whispers of the inexpiable, the irretrievable, the sin to be dragged slowly out by years of torturing fear and pain and penance, the sum of which is to be 'carried over' into 'doleful shades' of Purgatory. This is the mere enchanter's gospel. Ah, how different from the gospel of our Lord and Saviour. . . . Analyse your sins? No, nail them to the cross. Weep tears of blood, sweat drops of oozing agony in secret chambers, in lonely walks? Oh no—

> Jesus my salvation is;
> Hence my doubts, away my fears!
> Jesus is become my peace.
> Happy soul who sees the day,
> The glad day of gospel grace!
> Thee, my Lord (thou then wilt say),
> Thee will I for ever praise." [1]

Smetham was an artist, but this is the Methodist soul in him echoing what was in Paul's mind when he wrote, *let us celebrate our festival*, the genuine sense of repentance bringing an immediate freedom to the moral life, the experience of God's love in Jesus Christ breaking through to redeem man, without waiting to see whether he will deserve what is done for him, and without imposing any elaborate preliminaries. All this discloses a God who is free by His very grace to act within the sphere in which we are afraid we may have imprisoned ourselves by our folly and wrongdoing.

The hopelessness of our position is often thrust upon us later, in other ways, particularly by tragic or baffling circumstances. Again, the question is raised, is it any use to make moral endeavours in a universe like ours, which seems so cruel and treacherous and fickle? People in the

[1] *Letters of James Smetham*, pp. 208, 209.

early centuries often fell victims to the Oriental passion for astrology, just as they faced the disturbing state of this world, for astrology professed to offer some means of coming to terms with the cosmic powers whose tyranny it revealed. In our day science has destroyed, for thinking people, the superstition of chance. But it has reinforced in several directions the grip of fatalism upon men and women who are confronted with the untoward side of life. No doubt astrology as a means of escape from moral perplexities seems a long way from us to-day. We read of it in *Guy Mannering* or in *Quentin Durward* with the same sort of detached interest as we bestow upon alchemy, forgetting that it is not so long ago since it was a force even within Christian Europe and that it has not yet been weeded out of our civilisation. But the problem it raised and tried to solve for the primitive age of Christianity is a living problem still. Science has merely altered the setting of it. It is the issue which really underlies much of the discussion about miracles, for example, the problem of natural law. Do all things come by nature ? Does the revelation of a causal order exclude any direct relation between God's will and ours ? Is there any place left for the free action of God in a world like ours ? The Christian answer to this comes from the conviction of what God's revelation in Jesus Christ means for life, above all from the sense that redemption implies a living God whose purpose is carried out in and through creation. There is a moral support and incentive for the soul in the thought that the God who redeems is the God who controls the environment, and that the universe contains no blank spaces over which He has no authority. Instead of shivering in dread of nature, Christians can keep their faith as a real festival of life, bracing them by its revelation of a God who is on their side and at their side, and who takes responsibilities for His own.

The sacrifice of Christ is all that is required to put the soul into living touch with a Lord who is more than all the powers of nature. Paul argues this in the eighth chapter of Romans, but it is implicit in his conception of the Christian experience as a festival, as a relationship which gives relief from the oppressive sense of the casual and incalculable in nature.

One element in this confidence imparted by Christian faith is its frank outlook upon the world. Mr. Walter Bagehot once called attention to the fact that the better religions of the world had always this advantage over the inferior, that they justified a confidence in the universe. In the lower religions there is an element of the hap-hazard; they believe in luck or chance or fate, and thus fail to provide a proper working theory of the universe. "The savage is afraid to walk simply about the world—he cannot do this because it is ominous, or he must do that because it is lucky, or he cannot do anything at all till the gods have spoken and given him permission to begin. But under the higher religions there is no similar slavery and no similar terror." [1] In Christianity, for example, people are enabled to take the world as it comes, without being hampered by vain anxieties and uncertainties; they need "to be guided by no unreal reason, and to be limited by no mystic scruple." Faith delivers the soul from uneasy fears of bad luck. So does common sense, no doubt. It is not necessarily an inference from religion when you decide that you do not need to turn back because you happen to meet a magpie as you are starting on a journey. But common sense is singularly limited in this sphere of things. Such superstitions linger even among people who pride themselves upon their superiority to benighted savages; sometimes it is a silly belief, sometimes it is serious—almost the only serious thing in

[1] *Physics and Politics*, pp. 216, 217.

the lives of foolish persons. But morally it is enervating. No strong people ever yielded to it; or, if they did, they ceased to be strong. And it is still timely to urge that all this morbid interest in luck is contrary to the clear, steady view of the world as God's world which is implied in Christianity.

The one condition of enjoying faith as a festival is that our lives are clean. *Let us celebrate our festival not with vice and evil, but with innocence and integrity.*[1] We could not have any confidence in a God of favourites, who protected and favoured His adherents no matter how they behaved. The good conscience is an indispensable condition for enjoying God's care and generosity. The festival of Christianity implies a moral sensitiveness to the requirements of the Lord in His churches, a refusal to condone wrong-doing, and a scrupulous care for honesty and straightforwardness in every department of its activities. The conception of our experience as a festival means that we enjoy ease of mind, a sense of God's generosity, and reliance upon His provision for His guests. But these boons are for guests who are clean. The redemption which underlies our festival of faith imposes moral obligations, and only as we seek to discharge these can we truly enjoy our faith. Whatever mystery-cults may do or leave undone, Paul is determined that the Christian society in Corinth shall be conscious of its position as redeemed and alive to the moral responsibilities of its relation to God as Host. This was all the more necessary as the church, so far from being shocked or distressed by the scandal which had happened, was cheerfully complacent. Why, we cannot tell. It is reading between the lines to suppose that the offender was too rich

[1] I.e. as the two Greek terms imply, with a life transparently honest, which can bear scrutiny, in conduct and motives, because it is ethically sound.

or important for the Church to risk censuring him. The point Paul makes is that to connive at the scandal, as they had been doing, was to compromise their relation to the Lord. What is the use of priding themselves upon doctrinal orthodoxy or attainments in the interpretation of the gospel, when they can shelter themselves behind some subterfuge in order to tolerate such an open breach of the moral law among their members? To enjoy the real bliss of the Christian position, in short, it was essential that Christians should take sin seriously. The Hellenistic cults of the day rarely did so.[1] But for Paul the one source of bliss and strength was to realise the forgiveness of sins which the death of Jesus ensured for the faithful. Therefore any relaxation of the sense of sin meant for him a weakening hold upon the redeeming sacrifice which was central to the Christian's outlook. The deliverance was from more than the ordinary dread of the planetary powers. That sense of thraldom was no doubt felt by many in Galatia and Corinth. But Christianity, as Paul preached it, dealt with what lay deeper than any such terror, with guilt and sin as the really desperate thing in life, which had to be met, if the soul of man was to enjoy security. It is not frailty, it is failure, deep, moral failure, which is the source of bondage, according to the apostle. Hence it is an interpreter like Chrysostom who does far more justice to Paul's idea of the Christian life as a festival than a semi-mystical writer like Clement of Alexandria. Chrysostom saw the vital dependence of Christian security and cheerfulness upon the redeeming work of Jesus Christ. He writes, "The present age is a festival. For though he says *Let us keep our feast*, he does not mean the duration of the Passover nor

[1] This is frankly admitted by Reitzenstein (*Poimandres*, p. 180), who regards the early Christian emphasis on guilt and pardon as the distinctive feature which lifted their conception of "Saviour" beyond the redemptive system of Hellenistic religion.

of Pentecost; he indicates that all time is a season of festival for Christians on account of the surpassing wealth of boons bestowed upon them. What boon has not been realised? The Son of God became man for your sake, freed you from death, and called you to a kingdom. Since then you obtain and are to obtain such blessings, surely you ought to keep festival for all your life! Let none be downcast over poverty or disease or crafty attacks; for all our life is a festival."[1] Now Clement of Alexandria had argued not from the redemptive basis of the Christian life but from the omnipresence of the Christian God, "we keep festival all our life (*πάντα τοίνυν τὸν βίον ἑορτὴν ἄγοντες*); convinced that God is present everywhere on all sides of us, we praise Him as we till the ground, we sing hymns as we sail, in all we do we are conscious of being inspired by Him."[2] This is true, but it is not profound enough for Paul's thought, which implies that a clean life is essential to the enjoyment of Christian freedom and hope, and that the supreme motive for this ethical purity lies in the sacrifice of Christ for sins.

JAMES MOFFATT.

EGYPT AND THE BOOK OF DANIEL: OR WHAT SAY THE PAPYRI?

WITHIN the lifetime of the present generation discoveries in Egypt have revolutionised our ideas on more points than one. For instance they have taught us that the language of the New Testament was not a tongue apart and quite *sui generis*, but on the contrary the ordinary every-day language of almost the whole civilised world at the time when it was written. We have now in our hands fragments of the original letters of men of different classes, even of schoolboys

[1] *In Epist. I. ad Col. Homil.* xv. 3. [2] *Strom.* vii. 35.

and uneducated peasants, and are able to learn something even of the slang Greek of the first century of our era. The light thus thrown upon matters of the highest and of the least importance, matters connected with history, literature, politics, and many others, is of no slight interest. Not only has our knowledge of the New Testament language and times been thus increased, but light has been cast upon a period of history dealt with none too fully in the Old Testament, viz., the time of the Persian rule in Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia. Our readers are doubtless well aware that early in the year 1906 Dr. Otto Rubensohn, when examining the ruins of some houses in an island in the Nile, called Elephantiné by the Greeks and lying opposite to Assouan, formerly known as Syene, found a number of Aramaic manuscripts, some more or less complete, others fragmentary, which turned out to be of great interest when coupled with others discovered not long before at Assouan on the other side of the Nile. They are from the archives of an Aramaic-speaking Jewish military colony founded there before the time of Cambyses, possibly about that of Psammetichus II. (B.C. 593–588). Among other things these tell us how the Jews had, long before, built a temple for the worship of the God of Heaven, where offerings and sacrifices were regularly offered. This temple had been destroyed by an Egyptian mob, and the MSS. include two copies of a petition for its restoration and the punishment of the offenders, addressed to Bagohi (Bagoas), governor of Judæa under Darius II. Other documents of public and private interest are among the MSS. in the same collection. They all fall between 500 and 400 B.C., and each is dated not only with the year of the Persian king's reign, but also with the day and the month (often in both the Aramaic and the Egyptian calendar) of composition. Hence from even an Archæological point of view their value is very great

indeed. Nor is it difficult to study them for oneself in Dr. Eduard Sachau's admirable edition of three of the most important of them, with two facsimiles, entitled "Drei Aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine," Berlin, 1908, and in Arthur Ungnad's "Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine," Leipzig, 1911.

The aspect from which I venture to call attention to them now, however, is the linguistic, especially in connexion with the Book of Daniel. It is well known that Daniel is in the Hebrew Bible placed in the third division, i.e. the Hagiographa, along with the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, etc. Though its exact position among the books of the Hagiographa varies somewhat in different MSS. and early editions, yet it always precedes Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles. Its right to a place in the Hebrew Canon is indisputable. Tradition as preserved by Josephus relates that the Book of Daniel was so prized by the Jews that in B.C. 332, when Alexander the Great advanced to occupy Jerusalem, the High Priest Jaddua came out in state to receive the Conqueror and showed him in the Book of Daniel certain passages (probably chapter viii. 20, 21, among others), which predicted his coming conquest of Persia and overthrow of Darius III. (Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, Lib. xi., 8). The story as told by Josephus goes on to state that the king was so much pleased by what was translated to him that he bestowed certain great privileges on the Jews. It has been denied that the Book of Daniel was shown to Alexander on the ground that it was not then in existence; but there is no doubt that the Jews, somehow or other, enjoyed the rights claimed for them, and that they did obtain the Conqueror's favour. It is easy to deny but difficult to disprove the historian's statement on this point. The Book cannot have been in existence when Ezekiel spoke of Daniel as famous for his righteousness (Ezekiel xiv. 14, 20; xxviii. 3) before

the destruction of Jerusalem in B.C. 586, but the Prophet was already training for his life's work in Babylon. His Book is first mentioned, as far as is yet known, in the so-called Sibylline Oracles, dating from about 140 B.C., and then in the "Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs" (B.C. 109–107) and the First Book of Maccabees (*circa* B.C. 100). The New Testament shows in what esteem the Book was held by the early Christians and the Jews of the first century of our era. In fact it is admitted that its authenticity and genuineness were never called in question until the time of Porphyry (A.D. 233–301), who, in his famous attack on Christianity, endeavoured to shake the foundations of the Faith by overthrowing the authority of the Bible. He failed. It was the School of Neo-Platonism that was overthrown in the struggle. Not until nearly the end of the eighteenth century was the attack on Daniel renewed by Corrodi; but since that time it has been carried on very fiercely, until in the *Peake Commentary on the Bible* Professor H. T. Andrews ventures to say—not, perhaps, quite correctly:—"No Old Testament scholar of any repute now maintains that the Book was written by Daniel" (p. 522). A new series of "Daniels come to judgment" now asserts that it was composed in the Maccabean period, in fact between the years 167 and 165 B.C., not in Babylon but in Palestine.

It is evident that the comparatively recent discovery of the Assouan-Elephantiné Aramaic Papyri ought to shed a good deal of light upon the date of the composition of the Book, more especially as a large portion of the Book is written in the Aramaic language. In fact it would seem *prima facie* that a comparison between the language of the Book, which claims to belong to the latter part of the sixth century before Christ, and the Papyri, which undoubtedly were written during the fifth century before our era, ought to lead students to an absolutely certain conclusion, if under-

taken without prejudice on either side. We shall therefore have to deal with linguistic facts, not with theories or subjective impressions. To clear the ground I avoid such questions as the possibility or otherwise of prophecy and the miraculous, the historical accuracy of the Book, and the question of authority, whether in connexion with New Testament references to Daniel or the dogmatic assertions against its authenticity with which we are all familiar to-day. In this paper I wish to deal with the Book merely from the point of view of its vocabulary and grammar, comparing the Massoretic Text with the Assouan-Elephantiné Papyri and the Aramaic parts of Ezra-Nehemiah, and availing myself of any light cast on the date of the composition of the Book by Assyrio-Babylonian, Armenian, and Old Persian, whether Achæmenian or Avestic.

Few careful students of the subject will fail to come to the same conclusion as to the Aramaic Papyri which Eduard Sachau expresses thus : " The language in which they are written is in all essential parts identical with that of the Aramaic chapters in the books of Ezra and Daniel, and their phraseology affords close points of contact with that of the official documents in the Book of Ezra." (*Drei aramäische Papyri*, p. 3.) This is not a matter of opinion : it is either a fact or a fiction. Which it is must be decided by each student for himself. I do not wish for a moment to decide the point by the authority of Sachau or of anyone else. If it can be shown that the facts are to any real extent otherwise, then nothing I may say in this paper will have any weight with scholars. But if the latter agree with the dictum already quoted, and do so after careful study of the documents, then surely the phenomenon has to be accounted for somehow.

The importance of the matter is clear from the great stress which the late Professor Driver rightly laid on the value of

the information regarding the date of the Book of Daniel to be obtained from a careful study of the words in the Aramaic and Hebrew Text. As I have mentioned above, new evidence on the subject has been obtained since Dr. Driver wrote his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, and even his little volume on *Daniel* in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*. It is in consequence of this new evidence drawn from the Aramaic Papyri above referred to that I ventured recently, in a paper read before the Victoria Institute last May,[1] to question the correctness of his conclusions on this subject. He wrote as follows: "In face of the facts presented by the Book of Daniel, the opinion that it is the work of Daniel himself cannot be sustained. Internal evidence shows with a cogency that cannot be resisted that it must have been written not earlier than *circa* 300 B.C., and in Palestine; and it is at least *probable* that it was composed under the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, B.C. 168 or 167." On the evidence afforded by the original languages in which the Book was

[1] The distinguished Egyptologist, Dr. Flinders Petrie, on reading the rough proof of my paper for the Victoria Institute above referred to, very kindly wrote to me in the following terms: "The question about Greek words in Daniel hardly needs any notice in your paper. The intercourse of Jew and Greek must have been incessant at the frontier garrison of Tahpanhes from 660 B.C. onwards. The refugees of Johanan's party (who left behind the name of The Palace of the Jew's Daughter) were preceded doubtless by others flying from the sieges and invasions of Jerusalem in 607, 603 and 599, as well as in 588 B.C. As I wrote, thirty-three years ago, numbers of the upper and more cultivated classes were continually thrown into the company of Greeks, all who could afford to flee had to become more or less acquainted with Greek language and ideas, there was a continual ebb and flow of alternate dwelling in the Greek settlement, and of return to their own land. . . . The bearing of this on the employment of Greek names for musical instruments is too obvious to need mention in detail. . . . For three generations before the end of the Monarchy the Greeks must have been familiar to the more enterprising of the Jews; and possibly many a *kaithros*, *psanterin* and *sumphonyah* . . . had been traded over to Jerusalem from the Greek colony. You will find the matter in detail in the two books (*Tanis II.*, *Neb and Defenneh*, pp. 49, 50; and *Egypt and Israel*, pp. 87, 88)."

written he thus sums up his conclusions: "The *Persian* words presuppose a period after the Persian Empire had been well established: the Greek words *demand*, the Hebrew *supports*, and the Aramaic *permits*, a date *after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great* (B.C. 332). With our present knowledge, this is as much as the language authorises us definitely to affirm; though *συμφωνία* as the name of an instrument (considering the history of the term in Greek) would seem to point to a date somewhat advanced in the Greek period." Elsewhere he refers to two other Greek words, *ψαλτήριον* and *κίθαρις*, contained in Daniel as still further confirming his argument. A little later he expressed himself willing for the moment to withdraw *κίθαρις* from the argument, admitting that, as Homer employed this word (in *Iliad*, iii. 54; xiii. 731; *Odys.*, i. 153; viii. 248), the *κίθαρις* may have been well known in Palestine before the Macedonian period. As Homer is commonly connected in our thoughts with Asia Minor, a country at least as much in contact with Babylon as with Palestine in the age in which the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were probably composed, the probability is that, if the word was used in the Aramaic-speaking world in the sixth century before our era, the names of *other* Greek musical instruments were also in use there. To base such important conclusions as Dr. Driver has done largely on the occurrence of the two remaining Greek vocables, *ψαλτήριον* and *συμφωνία*, in Daniel, seems hardly quite safe, especially as we find at least *three* Greek words, not the names of musical instruments, used in our *dated* Aramaic Papyri from the Jewish community in Egypt, which was then in close correspondence with those in Judæa and Samaria. These indisputably Greek words are *στατήρ*, *ἀρσενικόν* and *κιθών*, and the collection of Papyri in which they occur dates from probably B.C. 494 to about the end of the fifth century before the Christian era.

This one fact disproves the positive assertion that "the Greek words" in Daniel "demand . . . a date *after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great*, B.C. 332," and that "it is incredible that *ψαλτήριον* and *συμφωνία* can have reached Babylon *circa* 550 B.C." I venture to maintain, therefore, that, if the few Greek words in Daniel were not long since deemed sufficient to disprove the early date of Daniel, the fact that, some centuries before the date fixed for the composition of the Book on "critical" grounds, quite as many Greek words were in use in the Aramaic of Egypt, should be enough to justify us in demanding a re-hearing of the whole case.

It may be well to deal briefly with the three Greek words already quoted from the Papyri. The first, written סתתר, is evidently the Greek coin *στατήρ*. It occurs in Papyrus 13, 468, now in the Cairo Museum, and again in Papyrus 13, 476, line 4. It is also used in Assyrian Cuneiform Tablets of the time of Artaxerxes I., B.C. 465–424, there written *istatiru* (*vide* Hilprecht, *Bab. Exped. of University of Pennsylvania*, Series A., Vol. IX.). Herodotus tells us that Gyges of Lydia struck coins about the seventh century B.C. They were used in Babylonia and Persia. Specimens exist of *statérs* struck in Sidon, with the figure of a Persian king seated in a chariot. The second Greek word is written זרניך, which Sachau rightly recognised as the Greek *ἀρσενικόν*, and denotes a colour. It occurs in Papyrus 13,492, line 17, and the meaning suits the context, which deals with shipbuilding. The word is found in the same form in Syriac as in the Papyrus, and has made its way also into modern Persian, Turkish, etc., in the forms *zarnīk*, *zarnīq*, *zarnīkh*, *zarnī*. These various ways of spelling and pronouncing the word show that it is borrowed. The document here quoted contains a large number of Persian and Babylonian words, proving to what an extent

these languages had affected Aramaic by the date (B.C. 413) when it was written. Aramaic had then evidently the same tendency to adopt foreign words which it manifested later also. In a commercial vernacular this is not surprising. Our third Greek word is written כתון in Aramaic and occurs in P. 12,490, lines 8, 9, 13, and elsewhere. It is clearly the Ionic *κιθών*, in Attic *χιτών*. Herodotus (vii. 61, 62) says that the Persians and Medes in Xerxes' army wore *chitons*.

There are probably other Greek words to be found in these Aramaic Papyri, but the foregoing are sufficient for our immediate purpose. They prove that Dr. Flinders Petrie is fully justified in insisting on the widespread influence which, long before Daniel's time, Greek had begun to exercise in the East.

Dr. Driver rightly calls attention, as we have seen, to the fact that a number of Persian words are found in the Massoretic Hebrew-Aramaic text of Daniel. He estimates these as at least 15, and suggests that there may be a few more. (*Daniel*, pp. lvi. and lvii.). With hardly an exception there is no possible doubt that he is right in recognising these words as Persian, as I have endeavoured to show by a fresh and independent investigation of them in my Victoria Institute paper recently. In fact I fancy that I have proved that Daniel contains at least twenty Persian words. But are they sufficient to demonstrate that the Book could not have been written till long after the establishment of the Persian Government in Mesopotamia and Palestine ?—in fact long after the Greek conquest of Palestine ? This is what Porphyry's modern imitators claim to have established. It should be noted that no one has ever tried to prove that the Book was composed in Babylon "*circa* 550 B.C." The author of the Book tells us of the conquest of Babylon *in B.C. 538*, but Daniel lived at least until B.C. 535, the "third

year of Cyrus " being the latest date mentioned in the Book (Dan. x. 1), and may, as tradition says, have lived many years longer. According to the statements made in the Book itself, Daniel was in a position to know a great deal about the Persian Government, its official titles and other matters, and, if the language of the Book is such as to confirm the claim—by its incorporation of a certain number of Persian words—can this be honestly thought to *invalidate* it ? It seems to be taken for granted that it was impossible for any Persian words to have been introduced into the Aramaic—spoken by at least many of the trading community in Babylon—until after Cyrus' conquest of the city. But this can hardly be granted. It is now proved on the authority of the Cuneiform Inscriptions that the Babylonians had come into close contact with the Medes and Persians (who spoke dialects of one and the same Aryan tongue) centuries before that time. Contact had been established at the very latest as early as the days of Tiglath Pileser I., for his Inscriptions show that he overran the Iranian plateau about 1100 B.C. Again, Shalmaneser in his Inscriptions speaks of the Medes (Mādāi) in the account of his expedition into the land of Namri in B.C. 837. In 744 B.C. Tiglath Pileser IV. carried captive from Media to Calah no less than 60,500 prisoners, and multitudes more in 737 B.C. Nebuchadnezzar had among his other wives Amytis, daughter of Astyages (Ishtuvegu), the last king of Media. Others say he also took to wife the daughter of Cyarares (Uvakhshatara), Astyages' father, in either case a Median princess. This would cause close social intercourse and commercial relations between the Iranians and the Babylonians. From these and other causes Persian terms must unavoidably have become known in Babylon to some extent, long before its surrender to Cyrus' troops under Gobryas. Under the Persian rule a consider-

able increase in these would be unavoidable. That it took place is clear, from, among other things, the Aramaic of Daniel, Ezra, and the Elephantiné Papyri, which agree closely with one another in this respect. The Papyri are somewhat *later* than Daniel, if the latter Book be for a moment regarded as genuine: hence it is not surprising that we find in them a *stronger* Persian element than in Daniel. In my Victoria Institute paper I have pointed out some thirty such Persian words found in the Papyri, about the origin of which there can be little doubt. If the Higher Critical hypothesis about the date of Daniel were correct, one or two things would have occurred. *Either* the Persian element in the Book would have been *greater* than in the Papyri, in consequence of the longer duration of Persian influence, *or* its place (especially through the long continuance of Greek influence) would have been largely taken by Greek words and particularly by Greek titles of officials. But, on the contrary, we actually find rather more Greek in the Papyri than in Daniel. On the "critical" theory the astonishing thing is not that so many (three!!) Greek terms occur in Daniel, but that they are so *marvellously few*. I confess that, on that hypothesis, I cannot understand why Greek words play so small a part in the vocabulary of the Book. If it be said that no doubt the pious forger of the Book was careful to avoid Greek, in order to prevent his forgery from being detected, we ask, Why then did he use even three such words? If he was clever enough to perceive that the use of foreign terms was dangerous, why not avoid them altogether? The fraud theory seems to break down either way. If so, why not give it up and believe that the writer was an honest man? Is it because critics secretly deny the possibility of genuine prophecy? But if this is really the explanation, is their appeal to literary criticism quite honest or scientific?

The value of the witness borne by the Papyri to the date of the composition of Daniel should be clear from the fact that, while on the traditionary theory the Book was written at earliest some time after B.C. 535, the earliest of the Papyri was apparently written in B.C. 494, the twenty-seventh year of Darius I. This is Papyrus 13,489. Between these two dates only some forty years at most intervened, and it may have been much less. There is some slight doubt about the reading of one figure in the date of the Papyrus in question, which I have fully stated in my paper previously referred to ; but another is dated the second year of Xerxes, B.C. 482. In fact we have two of that date, Pap. 13,493, and Pap. 13,475. Another is from the fourth year of Artaxerxes I., B.C. 461 (Pap. 13,467), and yet another bears the date of his ninth year (Pap. 13,491), i.e. B.C. 456. Others are a little later but belong to the same century. They are all originals, not late copies of uncertain date and provenance. Hence it is easy to learn the exact language and grammar in use in an Aramaic-speaking community of Jews, at least in Egypt and Palestine, within a very few years after Daniel's own time. In addition to this we have the Aramaic parts of Ezra (chapters iv. 8 to vi. 18, and vii. 12 to 26, both inclusive). Even Dr. Oesterley speaks of the former section as an " extract from an Aramaic document " (*Peake's Commentary*, p. 327) ; and again he holds that " In so far as these sources " (those from which the statements in the earlier parts of Ezra-Nehemiah are drawn) " are brought into connexion with the names of Persian kings, and assuming that this is correctly done, the dates of the kings in question will, of course, be the approximate dates of those parts of the book. So that the earliest portion will belong to the time of Cyrus, about 537, while the latest parts of the sources, the memoirs of Nehemiah, cannot have been written later than the end of the reign of

Artaxerxes, about 424" (p. 325). And Eduard Meyer, a hostile critic, has stated that the different letters and lists contained in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah (especially those in Ezra chaps. iv.–vi.) are to be considered as indubitably genuine. (*Vide* Hommel, *Die altisraelitische Ueberlieferung*, pp. 23 sqq.). When therefore we inquire into the genuineness of Daniel, our first duty is naturally to examine these Papyri and the words and grammar used in the Aramaic of Ezra, and, using these as a touchstone, test the Aramaic parts of Daniel thereby. Having carefully done this myself I have no doubt of the result.

It has been argued that Persian words cannot have been used in Babylon until a considerable time after the capture (or surrender) of the city. The fact that there had been, long before that, a considerable degree of contact between Persia and Babylonia, deprives this assertion of any apparent validity. Although there would be very considerable difficulty in introducing foreign words of any kind into the Cuneiform Assyrio-Babylonian, that would not apply to the Aramaic *lingua franca* of the foreign population. As a matter of fact, these chapters of Ezra and the almost contemporary Papyri show that the entrance of a very important Persian element *was* effected. And, contrary to Dr. Driver's assertion, even into the Cuneiform literary vocabulary some Persian soon found its way. We find, for instance, the Persian word *pairidaēza*, which afterwards became παράδεισος in Greek, in a tablet of Cambyses' sixth year, where it has assumed the Babylonian form *pardīsu*. So too the Persian measure styled ἀρτάβη by the Greeks appears in Babylonian as *artabu*. The Persian *pīru*, elephant, also became *pīlu* in Babylonian. The Persian words for treasure and treasurer appear in Babylonian Cuneiform as *ganzu*, *gunzu*, and *ganzabāru*. The Persian *pati-baga*, special food assigned to the king, is in

late Cuneiform written *patipabaga* (the second *pa* being probably a scribal error). *Dātabāru* and *apadānu* are two more examples of Persian importations into the Babylonian language. These few instances will perhaps suffice to show how further study had disproved Dr. Driver's argument against the genuineness of Daniel based upon the supposed fact that "the numerous contract tablets which have come down to us from the age of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors, and which represent the everyday language of commercial life, show no traces of Persian influence." (*Daniel*, Introduction, pp. lvii., lviii.)

Besides Persian, the Babylonian language itself is represented in the Aramaic of Daniel by a not inconsiderable number of words. Of these I have counted some twenty, almost all of which are recognised as such in the Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew Lexicon. *A priori* it was to be expected that this would be the case, if the Book were composed in Daniel's time and in Babylon. In Ezra and in the Papyri very much the same phenomenon is observable, though perhaps the Babylonian element is somewhat slighter in the Papyri. There are at least over a dozen of these words. More would be expected were Daniel more recent than the Papyri, as the tendency would be for the Babylonian element to give place to Persian, or, if the "critical" hypostasis were correct, to a largely increased number of Greek words. But this is not the case. There is this difference, however: there are many Egyptian proper names in the Papyri, but none in Daniel. The proper names in Daniel, except those of Persians, are nearly without exception Babylonian, as even Daniel and his companions had Babylonian names given them to replace their original Hebrew appellations. This is in accordance with the custom which Hilprecht mentions: "That captives and slaves, without regard to their former

position and nationality, as a rule received a new name from their Babylonian masters is illustrated by the large number of slaves with pure Babylonian names in the Neo-Babylonian contracts" (*op. cit.*, vol. ix., p. 28). The fact that the new names given to Daniel and his friends are *Babylonian* proves that the theory advanced by some that the occurrence of the word "Aramaic" in Daniel ii. 4 was intended to show the writer's (erroneous) belief that Aramaic was the spoken vernacular of all classes in Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar is absurd.

The more deeply we inquire into details connected with Babylon in Daniel's time, the more are we struck with the narrator's accuracy. For instance: Daniel mentions that a special kind of *wine* was assigned to the use of the king. If we turn to Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. ii., Plate 44, col. 7, line 10, we find in an ancient syllabary the Assyrio-Babylonian *Karānu mashqītu sha sharrī*, i.e. "Wine the drink of the king," with an explanatory note in Sumerian. Evidently then Daniel in i. 52 refers to an old custom prevalent in the country in which he lived, but which would hardly be so casually (and correctly) mentioned many centuries after, were the Book written in Palestine about B.C. 167–165. This is only one of those trivial matters which are so very important as indications of date. Somewhat similar are the many Babylonianisms found in the language of the writer, which we hardly expect in one writing long afterwards. For instance, the Babylonians used to say "*with* life" for "during life" (*itti balṭi*). So Daniel writes "*with* the night" (*'im* leylyā, Dan. vii. 2) for "*during* the night," which is neither an Aramaic nor a Hebrew expression but a genuine Babylonian idiom.

Another corroboration of the date of the Book is the fact that the grammar of the Aramaic used in it is that of the

Papyri and the oldest parts of Ezra and also agrees with many strange idioms prevalent in Babylonian, but *not* in the oldest (and even the latest) parts of the Aramaic *Targums*. We must deal with these very briefly here, but let us take two instances. Assyrio-Babylonian Tablets show that in that language it was quite customary to use the *masculine* instead of the *feminine* form of the verb when coupled with a feminine noun : and also to employ the *masculine* form of the affixed pronoun referring to a preceding feminine noun. This usage is very commonly found in Assyrian of perhaps every age, but it is a very remarkable one, and is not, I think, recognised in any other Semitic tongue, though I have found it in such popular and corrupt Arabic as in parts of the *Alif Leylah*. The Massorites of after times were so horrified by it that, though permitting such idioms to remain in the text of Daniel, they directed such forms to be *always* corrected into the ordinary grammatical forms in reading. This is clear from the *Qrī*. But the discovery of the Elephantiné Papyri has proved that the forms in question were *not* grammatical blunders but *early* Aramaic, possibly due to Babylonian influence. Something not remotely similar in our own tongue may make the matter simpler. In old English we find the verb *Ax* used instead of the modern *ask*, now regarded as correct, while the other form has become vulgar. Yet it is well known that the former is the older and originally the only correct word, being derived from the Anglo-Saxon *acsian*. Somewhat similarly we now discover, what the Massorites did not know, that Daniel did not blunder in using the forms they wished to correct but was merely writing what in his own time was in accordance with the rules of Aramaic grammar. This is weighty evidence, however, in support of the genuineness of the Book.

It has been argued that in Daniel we have, speaking

generally, not Eastern Aramaic (i.e. Syriac), but Western (or, as used to be said, "Chaldee"): and this has been urged against its authenticity. But Western Aramaic is undoubtedly much the older of the two dialects. The Inscriptions prove this indisputably. Had Daniel originally been written largely in Eastern Aramaic, its antiquity could not be maintained for a moment. The latter (or *Syriac*) does not seem to have come into use as a literary language before Christian times. One of the distinctive differences between the dialects is in the preformative of the third Person of the Aorist. This in the masculine is *y* in Western Aramaic, and *n* in Syriac. In Daniel it is *y*, as is the case in the Papyri and in the Inscriptions as well as in the Aramaic dockets *found on the Babylonian Tablets*. A difficulty has been raised because the relative Pronoun in these dockets is always *zī*, whereas in Daniel it is invariably *dī*. Undoubtedly the form in *z* is the older: but (1) as *dī* is used in Ezra as well as in Daniel, if its employment in Ezra does not disprove (as it admittedly does not) the genuineness of the ancient documents in that Book, it cannot be of any importance in the case of Daniel. Again, (2), in the Papyri, though *zī* is the more usual of the two, *the other form also occurs*, as does *d* sometimes in place of *z* in other words. On the whole, therefore, this objection loses all weight.

Finally it is right to call attention to a matter which seems to have been too little regarded by many scholars. It is the fact that the Septuagint translators evidently lived so long *after* Daniel that they were unable to translate many of the words he used, especially the Babylonian and Persian ones. Hence they generally either give a wrong rendering or merely transliterate them. Dr. Swete well says: "In the majority of instances transliteration may be taken for a frank confession of ignorance or doubt." But, assuming for a moment the correctness of the Higher Critical theory that the Book

of Daniel was composed in Palestine about B.C. 167–165, it is not easy to explain such ignorance on their part. Though we do not know the exact date when they translated Daniel, yet their work cannot, at the very latest, be placed later than about 100 B.C. It may probably have been done a score or two years earlier. In the short time that, according to the theory, elapsed between the composition of Daniel and its translation into Greek, the LXX succeeded in forgetting the meaning of *Hammelzar* (Dan. ii. 11–16), which they transliterated as a Proper Name, and that not very successfully, and *tiphtāyē*, a word which occurs in Daniel iii. 2, 3, *and also in the Papyri*, but which they omit in their version. In Daniel v. 2, 23 they similarly omit the words that mean "thy wives and thy concubines," being unable to render them. So in Daniel vi. 19, the word *daḥawān*, which probably means *food*, is translated "grieving" (λυπούμενος); in Daniel i. 20 *ashshāphīm* (enchanters) becomes φιλόσοφοι; in Daniel ii. 5, 8 *azdā* (certain, fixed) becomes ἀπέστη, evidently a bad guess; while in Daniel ii. 27 *gāzerīn* is merely transliterated.

I have now given a few of the reasons why I ask for a reconsideration of the "assured results" obtained by our Higher Critics regarding the date and hence the authorship of the Book of Daniel. It seems to me at least that a careful study of the Elephantiné Papyri in comparison with the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra, and some slight knowledge of ancient Persian and Babylonian, are useful in helping us to ascertain the truth. Facts in this matter are more reliable than theories.

W. St. Clair Tisdall.

JEREMIAH'S LETTER TO THE EXILES IN BABYLON.

The first thing which needs, if possible, to be determined about the letter is the reason for its having been sent and the purpose it was intended to serve. The writer of chapter xxix., in which the letter is found, shows how the interference of Jeremiah in the affairs of the exiles was due to the influence in Babylonia of two prophets, Ahab and Zedekiah. On these is pronounced the doom that their fate at the hands of their Babylonian lords shall be so terrible that men in the exiled community shall use their names as a curse, "Yahweh make thee like Ahab and Zedekiah." Duhm has rightly insisted, not only that some horrible end must have befallen these two men, but that their punishment at the instance of the local authority is better guaranteed historically than the letter itself. For, unless the fate of these two prophets were a well certified fact, the Jewish community would not have continued to relate how this fate had been pronounced beforehand by one of their great prophets, but would probably have suppressed all mention of Jeremiah's connexion with it and them. Such a position does not, of course, imply that the death of these two men was the result of Jeremiah's prophecy; it only guarantees the historical connexion between their death and the prophecy.

For what reason, then, were the two men condemned to be burned to death? The form of punishment selected, since it was unknown in Palestine, evidently impressed the exiles deeply, and may have been selected by the Babylonians for this very reason and to this very end. The reasons given at verse 23 are two, that they had debauched their neighbours' wives and had spoken falsely in the name

of Yahweh. Now, while it is true that adultery was punishable with death in Israel (Deuteronomy xxii. 22), the men are said to have met their fate, not at the instance or at the hands of their fellow-Jews, but from the Babylonians; and it is very unlikely that these were so deeply interested in the sexual morality of their captives as to make, on such a ground alone, a public and peculiarly terrible example of two prominent Jewish leaders. The onus of the charge is more likely to be found in the second part of Jeremiah's indictment, viz., false prophecy in Yahweh's name. At first sight, it is true, this also may seem not to concern the Babylonian authorities, who were unlikely to set up a claim to be able to distinguish between true and false prophecy. But Jeremiah, e.g., in xxvii. 14, characterises as false prophets the men in Jerusalem who were counselling rebellion against Nebuchadrezzar, and he would find the same falsity in men who taught in Yahweh's name a speedy intervention of their God for the restoration of Jerusalem and so for the deliverance of the exiles. Such a prophecy on the part of the two men would both account for the terms in which Jeremiah refers to them and for the prompt and severe action of the civil power against men who would appear to it to be fomenting sedition among its subjects.

Because the situation so regarded is natural and probable, there seems no sufficient ground for rejecting the charges of adultery and false prophecy as secondary elements in the chapter. Jeremiah, writing to Jews, naturally does not give the reasons which prompted the Babylonians to their action, but regards the whole matter from a different angle, the angle which makes inevitable to him, not a punishment on these men from their masters, but a punishment from Yahweh through these. And, if he could be informed of the character of their prophetic utterances, he might as easily be informed of their morals.

Thus, when the incident is examined from the side which is historically best authenticated, what it seems to show is a movement for resistance to the Babylonian government among the exiles, which was based on their religion and was fomented and led by two prophets, Ahab and Zedekiah. Precisely as Jeremiah condemned under the name of "false" prophecy every movement in Jerusalem which tried to identify the Yahweh faith and the hopes of religion with a political movement for rebellion, so he condemned the rise of a similar movement among the captivity.

If it were possible to regard the letter as belonging to the same period as chapters xxvii. and xxviii. the whole situation would be even more clear. Hananiah, leading the prophets of his school, appears in chapter xxviii. urging King Zedekiah in Jerusalem into rebellion, a rebellion in which several of the smaller states in the West were to be united, if there be any truth in Jeremiah having warned the kings of Moab, Edom, Ammon and Phœnicia (cf. xxvii. 2 f.) as well as his own king against the scheme. Apparently the league came to nothing, whether because Judah was half-hearted in the business or because Nebuchadrezzar heard of the combination and was too quick for the plotters. In either case Judah may have been required to send an explanation of its conduct to the court of its suzerain, and the Elasah and Gemariah of verse 3 may have been really ambassadors from Zedekiah sent for the purpose of bringing guarantees of fidelity and full explanations. This would make it easier to understand how Jeremiah was able to send his letter at all on the long and difficult journey to Babylon. It is not very natural to think of him as able to maintain on his own responsibility and at his own charges relations to the exiled community. If, however, the letter were sent for the purpose of calming the agitation in the minds of the exiled, nothing is more natural than to find it travelling

to its destination by the medium of messengers whose business was to improve the relations between the Jews and their rulers. The writer of the chapters, who puts the Jerusalem incident early in Zedekiah's reign (xxvii. 1 and xxviii. 1), will then have set it in the period before Jeremiah's influence at the court had become nil.

But, however this may be,—and in our uncertain knowledge of the historical situation and in particular of the influences at work in Zedekiah's court it cannot be set down as more than an attractive hypothesis—the letter which was sent to the exiles must have been closely connected with the doom pronounced against the two prophets. Letter and threat must have had broadly the same purpose of quieting the minds of the Jews in Babylon, and especially of preventing them from identifying their religion with certain political aims which were filling their hearts with vague and possibly delusive hopes.

When, now, the letter itself is examined it is found to have suffered the same fate as many of Jeremiah's utterances, especially of those which have been incorporated into a short narrative. It has been retouched, and, through being retouched, has been reinterpreted in the direction of the views of the later generations which came to control opinion in Israel.

Thus verses 16–20, or at least verses 16–19, have long been recognised as an addition, which is absent from the LXX. It is true that the Lucianic text of the LXX contains the section, but the Lucianic text is full of conflate readings, and in this case betrays itself by inserting the verses before, instead of after, verse 15. When two texts thus differ in the position they give a section, which is omitted by the third text, the probability is great of the verses being secondary. Besides, verse 17 clearly contains a reference to chapter xxiv., the parable of the two fig-baskets ; and it is

difficult to suppose Jeremiah incorporating in an address to the exiles an extract from a parable which they never had the opportunity to hear. To believe them capable of understanding the allusion is to suppose a closeness of intercourse between the communities of Jerusalem and Babylonia which is incredible in the conditions of the century. When, however, the Lucianic text refused to separate verses 15 and 21, it betrayed verses 16–20 as secondary by recognising how closely these verses hang together. "But, you say, we have Yahweh prophets of our own in Babylon. Listen then to what Yahweh has to say about these prophets of yours." Jeremiah, having finished with his direct advice to the exiles, turns to the situation produced by the two troublesome nabis, whose followers may resent the intrusion of a prophet from far-off Jerusalem in their concerns. The section which has been intruded has nothing directly to do with the situation in Babylonia, and is entirely concerned with a somewhat stereotyped denunciation of Jerusalem. The one possible plea for retaining the verses is Ewald's. He held that the exiles were counting on a successful revolt which they knew to be under weigh in Judea. Jeremiah seeks to dash their hopes and brand them as futile by the assurance that Jerusalem itself is doomed. But, as Ewald himself acknowledged, this is not the ground on which the two men are judged and condemned by the prophet. Yet, if Jeremiah began his denunciation of the "false" prophets by an assurance of Jerusalem's doom, it would be natural to expect him to point out some connexion at least between the two parts of his utterance. In reality, there is no connexion to be traced. We must look for the original letter to the body of exiles in verses 1–14.

Here verses 1–3 are historical introduction and clearly editorial. But already in verse 4 doubt has been thrown

on the address which Jeremiah prefixes to his letter : " Thus speaks Yahweh, God of Israel, to the whole golah, whom I caused to go into exile from Jerusalem to Babylon." Duhm hesitates to pronounce, but Erbt makes the address end at golah, and regards the relative clause as a phrase which was added in order to bring out how this was the first body of exiles who preceded the captivity under Zedekiah. If this was what the glossator meant to say, it must be evident that he was singularly helpless at conveying his meaning, for this is precisely what the phrase does not say. What the words do say is that the captivity under which the men are suffering is the act of Yahweh, " whom I, not Nebuchadrezzar, caused to go into exile " ; and the supposition of this being what the text meant to convey is strongly supported when we find Jeremiah, in the body of the letter at verse 7, saying the same thing. What Jeremiah desires to insist on, he notes at the very beginning, viz., how the outward condition in which the people find themselves may be an expression of the will of God, and how a great part of our religion in this untoward world may consist in submission to the divine will, and not in a fretful and impotent resistance to it.

Not only is it their business as religious men to accept their present political fortune as an expression of the will of God for them, but it may be their contentment and their strength if they accept it heartily. The exiles may not merely live in their new country, building houses, planting gardens and rearing families and homes ; but they shall pray for the peace of the land,[1] to which in their God's sovereign will they have been brought, because in its peace stands their peace. Life, under the new conditions to which they have been exposed, may be more than tolerable ; it may be made useful and even happy. But, if it is to become

[1] With LXX read הארץ for העיר.

this, their religion must not be interpreted merely as a constant means of resenting and reacting against conditions which are capable of being interpreted as an expression of the inscrutable will of their God. Religion to Jeremiah is no mere ally of politics and is more than a mere social ferment. It has its own life and introduces men to its own high and serene world : when so lived, it supplies its own secret and ineffable strength and consolation and courage.

Within these verses (5–7), both text and meaning seem clear and straightforward, except that verse 6 appears overloaded and clumsy. The LXX, by omitting the phrase, " and let them, i.e. your daughters, bear children," supports the impression of additional matter having been intruded on a simpler original. There is, accordingly, considerable force in Duhm's remark that this clause has been added, because the captivity came to be regarded as lasting during seventy years. The exile, lasting for seventy years, extended till at least the second generation, into the life of the daughter's children. Whether, however, the prophecy of the duration for seventy years is regarded as original will largely determine the impression as to the originality of the clause.

When, however, we turn to verses 8–10, the situation becomes more complicated : verses 8 f. contain a warning against trust in their own prophets, diviners and dreamers, verse 10 fixes the period of the exile at seventy years. Already the two fresh starts, " for thus speaks Yahweh Tsebaoth, God of Israel," and " for thus speaks Yahweh," look suspicious, and to find the first closing at verse 9 with a customary " oracle of Yahweh " strengthens the suspicion that verses 8, 9 may be an independent utterance which has been interpolated here. And the impression produced by the form is confirmed by the contents of the two sayings. Thus verses 8 f. strike in awkwardly beforehand with their reference to the prophets. Since at verse 15 Jeremiah turns

definitely from his general advice to the exiled Jews to deal with the situation produced by these prophets, one hardly looks for so clumsy an arrangement and so unnecessary a departure here from his main theme. Besides, the reference to prophets, diviners and dreamers is vague and contrasts strongly with Jeremiah's sharp handling of Ahab and Zedekiah. He denounces the two "false" prophets, not because they dealt with divination and with dreams, not, i.e., because they used lower methods of attaining inspiration, but because of the content of their message and because of their evil lives. The two verses are probably a little oracle on conditions in Jerusalem, which was unhappily inserted here by some one who thought it an appropriate place.

Is, however, the famous prophecy, defining the period of exile as seventy years, original? The suspicion against it is not so clear as against the preceding verses, and the attitude taken by students on the question will probably always depend on their general view as to Jeremiah's position. But its form is awkward, so awkward that the LXX has felt it necessary to change "you" into "your people," since the translators recognised how, after seventy years, none of those whom the prophet addressed was likely to be able to "return to this place." But what seems to me of much more significance is that verse 10 and verse 11, each beginning with "because," are parallel clauses, giving the reason why the people may rest quietly in a land of exile, finding their peace in its peace. As the two clauses stand, verse 10, "for thus speaks Yahweh, when seventy years are fulfilled to Babylon, I will visit you," forms the reason for verse 11, "for I know the thoughts which I have toward you, thoughts of peace and not of evil, to give you an issue and hope," and forms a very poor reason. God's thoughts of peace to His people do not rest on the contingency of

what is to happen to Babylon, but on the relation of His people to Him and on His relation to them. The exiles are still His people, though in Babylon, and He still cherishes His great thoughts about them, thoughts which, because they are His, are capable of giving His people the great gift of hope. Their hope rests on what their God is, and on His unchanging, unchangeable mind toward them. Verse 10, making all this contingent on God's purposes with Babylon and on the period He has set for Babylon's power, making too the limit of Babylon's power the *reason* for His generous purposes toward the exiles being unchangeable, introduces an alien thought. I do not say that the other conception of the men's hope resting ultimately on their God's mind toward them is more worthy of Jeremiah, because a prophet may not always be at his highest and worthiest. But I do urge that the thought of salvation and hope being the issue of God's mind is fundamental to Jeremiah, as it was to his predecessor Hosea. When he is writing to men who are in new and peculiarly trying circumstances, he falls back for their heartening, not on what will happen in seventy years, but on what is eternally sure, on the ultimate things in God, as he thinks of God.

Now, when one takes verse 10 with its promise of deliverance after seventy years, and verse 11 with its assurance of God's far-reaching and enduring mercy towards His exiled people to be parallel to one another, each offering a reason why the men may find in Babylon's peace their peace, there can be little question as to which forms the better conclusion to verse 7, and the better continuation of the letter to the exiles. The sentence which promises return after seventy years was likely to turn their minds away from their present tasks and their present opportunity. They were not to seek the peace of the land to which they were exiled in any permanent way; they were to

endure the present condition while it lasted, and to keep always in their minds how it could not last. They were to be so expectant of a better thing, that the peace of Babylon must remain to them indifferent, because transient. On the other hand, verse 11, with its assurance that the men are much in the mind of God deals directly with the instant and urgent present. Since God has a mind toward them, and since it is by His will that they are where they are, the conditions among which they are called to live are not empty of meaning, are not mere passing things which must be borne and, so far as possible, ignored; they hold for the men an issue and a hope. Life, even in Babylon, is more than tolerable, it is rich in fruitful possibilities.

Further, the saying of how Yahweh bears His people on His heart and has a purpose toward them does not merely form the sufficient reason for remaining quiet in Babylonia; it forms also the suitable introduction to the new utterances of verses 12–14, with their assurance that, since Yahweh has a mind toward the exiles, He is accessible to them. They may call upon Him and pray with the confidence that He will hear them. Here Driver proposes to omit verse 14: "I will be found by you, oracle of Yahweh, and will turn your fortune and will gather you from all the nations and all the places to which I have scattered you, oracle of Yahweh, and I will restore you to the place from which I carried you into captivity." The verse, with the exception of its opening clause, is omitted by the LXX; it is patently addressed, not to the exiles in Babylonia, but to the whole diaspora scattered across the world; and it awkwardly and unnecessarily repeats "oracle of Yahweh." Yet the opening phrase, in the form "I will reveal Myself unto you," does appear in the LXX, and I suggest that the original form was, "I will yet reveal Myself unto you, oracle of Yahweh, and turn your fortunes." The last clause was

interpreted, as has happened elsewhere, to mean "I will bring you back from captivity," and this interpretation gave rise to the closing sentence with its promised restoration of the whole diaspora. Then the "oracle of Yahweh," in its earlier occurrence, forms the customary conclusion to the letter, which is thus marked as a divine revelation.

Inside the section, verses 12–14, there is but one dubious word, והלכתם in verse 12, "you may call upon Me and go and pray to Me, and I will listen." As it stands, the word is suspicious, since one naturally looks for some description of Yahweh's attitude rather than of the people's act: we should then have two verbs which describe the people as "calling" and "praying," Yahweh as "hearing (?)" and listening. The Syriac, as matter of fact, offers such a balanced sentence by reading "and ye shall find," and the Targum, even better, reads, "and I will accept your prayer." Probably the description of the people as going to offer even their prayers has been added after the whole promise came to be understood as implying a return from captivity. When one recognises how unlikely the Targum was to change an original "and ye shall go" into a promise to hear their prayer and how its bias was in the direction of maintaining our present reading, one has the greater confidence that it read in its original text what it has rendered. Thus read, the section contains an explanation of and a conclusion from the heartening recognition that Yahweh has a mind toward His exiles. They may cry and pray and seek their God where they are, with the comfortable assurance of His hearing and answering. Religion is independent of place and condition, it is only dependent on men's inward state, so that, if they seek with their whole heart, they shall surely find.

When one has removed the accretions which have gathered round the letter, one finds a clear and self-consistent message·

The appeal of religion has been used among the exiles to prevent them from settling down to face the new conditions of life in Babylonia and employing themselves in wholesome and useful effort. They are being taught to believe that they cannot remain devout worshippers of Yahweh and peaceable subjects to a foreign power. So the prophet, who had opposed with all his energy the work of the prophets in Jerusalem who were using religion as a means to foment rebellion against Nebuchadrezzar, opposes as unhesitatingly the similar conception of religion in Babylonia. When he has assured the exiles that their religion is not being made impossible to them by their exile, and that men who remain loyal to Babylon can also be loyal to Yahweh, he turns vehemently on the prophets who are largely responsible for the situation. The vehemence of his denunciation of the two men is not surprising when one recognises how between Jeremiah and them there is a deep difference as to what religion implies. The difference is one of principle. Had the only difference between Jeremiah and these two men lain in the mere fact that the prophets of Babylonia looked for a return from exile within a year or two years, while the prophet of Jerusalem expected the exile to endure for another seventy years, it is a little difficult to explain how any religious teacher could believe the death of Ahab and Zedekiah the only adequate punishment for a mistake as to a date. But, when Jeremiah is seen to be condemning a false conception of what constitutes religion, when he is recognised as insisting that religion is not essentially bound up with the success or failure of a political rebellion, the difference between him and the "false" prophets both at Jerusalem and in Babylonia is one of principle, and his vehemence becomes at once explicable.

Now it is easy to recognise how closely Jeremiah's position

in the letter agrees with the position he had taken in his temple address. Any one who was able to say, not merely that the temple might pass away, but that it was to be destroyed through an act of Yahweh as a hindrance to true religion, found it natural to assure the exiles as to the possibility of their religion continuing without sacrifices and a temple, or, at least, without the sacrifices and temple at Jerusalem. But is this all which Jeremiah's position implies, or did his teaching to the exiles go no further than the assurance of how Yahweh could be worshipped beyond the soil of Palestine, where He and they dwelt together ?

If I am right in connecting closely the two parts of the letter, the general advice to the community and the special denunciation of the prophets, in construing the scope and purpose of the letter as identical with the scope and purpose of the threat, and especially if I am right in regarding the prophets in Babylonia and those in Jerusalem as holding the same principles and occupying the same attitude, the danger to their religion from being transplanted into a foreign country will not explain the agitation among the exiles. It is difficult to believe that all the exiles were so entirely convinced of the necessity of Palestine to the Yahweh worship as to be incapable of settling down to peaceful work in their new home on this ground alone. And the difficulty about Yahweh worship on foreign soil utterly fails to explain the analogous and possibly contemporary movement in Jerusalem. We need to look for another cause which would operate in both spheres.

If religion was being made a political ferment, it would be comparatively easy by its help to foment an unrest which was already present and direct it against the ruling power. By an assurance of the coming of Yahweh in His day on behalf of His oppressed and scattered people, by a quickening of the expectation that He was about to restore the ancient

kingdom in its past glory, it would not be difficult to play upon and heat to flaming point the discontented and patriotic Jews. Such a construction of the situation explains, on the one side, why the trouble broke out both in Judah and in Babylonia. The same unrest was there to be appealed to; the same type of religion was present to make the appeal. On the other side it also explains why "false" prophets are found busy in both places for the same end. The burden of the prophets was the coming of Yahweh: the difference between true and false prophecy consisted in their different conception of the purpose for which He was to come, and therefore of the effect His coming should have on His people.

Jeremiah, like all the "true" prophets, believes that Yahweh's coming must be for righteousness, and he cannot therefore say that the effect will be to prosper the kingdom of Israel in all it undertakes. Its rebellion is not guaranteed success, because it is Israel which rebels. Religion to him is not bound up with a political programme any more than it is made sure by an ecclesiastical programme. To make it dependent on the success of a rebellion against Nebuchadrezzar is to make sure that life becomes destitute of any issue and any hope, if or when the rebellion fails. It is to make the presence and comfort of God dependent on the uncertainty of fortune in this weird and mutable world. Men, he insists, who seem to be flung out orphaned on an alien life, without the help of a nation to which they belong, without a home in friendless Babylonia, can have and do have an issue and a hope guaranteed to them by their God. For they have an end to serve which is not appointed to them by the nation which has enslaved them, but which rests on the good word of promise and the thought which their God cherishes about them. Because they have an end which comes from a supreme Master, they have a hope

which is equally immutable, since it too comes to them from a higher source than earthly.

Jeremiah's letter is one of the simple, brave words which make a period in religious history. A man, to this prophet, owes a double allegiance, and Israel, from this time onward, when its kingdom and nationality are doomed, may need to acknowledge both an earthly master and a heavenly. He can be loyal to both. To the credit of the exiled community and of the Jew the letter did not go for nothing. For it is precisely in Babylonia that Judaism sets its ideal Jew after Jeremiah's pattern in the great figure of Daniel. Serving his new masters with a loyal mind, setting all his disciplined intelligence and his moral integrity at the command of the king to whom his God has willed that he should be subject, he keeps his soul his own. And, when Nebuchadrezzar demands an obedience which trenches on the Jew's conscience, he finds the submissive and useful servant a steel rod. Or, as is said about three other exiles, "O Nebuchadrezzar, we are not careful to answer thee in this matter. If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and He will deliver us out of thine hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods."

That is the note which Jeremiah is the first to strike in his letter, the note of the dual allegiance which has made the pathos and the tragedy and the glory of his people's history through the long centuries.

Adam C. Welch.

IS GOD KNOWABLE?

Under this familiar heading I wish to discuss not so much the philosophical problems it may suggest, as the scope and nature of the knowledge of God which we obtain through

faith. How far does the Christian's believing knowledge of God reach? We assume it to be a genuine knowledge; the statement "God is love" is true of reality beyond and other than our minds, and is not less true although neither we nor others are for the time being attending to it. It affirms an objective fact which cognition accepts as given but does not create. Religious truth is apprehensible under conditions that in some ways differ from those which enable men to grasp the truths of science, but in either case it is *truth* we are talking of. There have been writers who maintained that the Beautiful is one of man's self-preservative fictions, that in fact beauty is not in things but in the contemplating mind, at least so far as concerns animate nature. This is no doubt wrong, but it has been argued by people whose æsthetic sensibilities were keen. Artists themselves, they were content to say that the beauty and sublimity of natural objects are not qualities of things as they are, but subjective emotions in the bystander. But in religion it is different. You do not find Christian believers adopting the position that God, or His forgiveness of sins, or the reality of the soul are subjective imaginings; for them the truth of the utterances of the religious consciousness, as of the moral, is a question of life and death.

But is this knowledge of God, whose truth we take for granted, limited or unlimited in scope? Is it complete or partial? And if there is that in God of which, even as Christians, we remain profoundly ignorant, what guarantee is there that this hidden and outlying region of His nature may not be fatally incongruous with what has been revealed? In a word, is our knowledge of God through Christ, incomplete as it may be, wholly conclusive?

It is interesting to note that the teaching of the New Testament on the point is superficially ambiguous. Thus

in one place St. Paul repeats the ancient question: "Who hath known the mind of the Lord?" and immediately answers himself with the triumphant words: "We have the mind of Christ." But significantly enough the same question recurs, in the eleventh chapter of Romans, with a new accent. "How unsearchable," he writes, "are His judgments, and His ways past finding out. For who hath known the mind of the Lord?" What is uppermost here is agnosticism rather than the confidence of trustful insight. Or again, St. John makes the striking claim: "Ye have an anointing from the Holy One, and ye all know," which recalls the reported promise of Christ, before His departure, concerning the Spirit: "He shall teach you all things." Yet St. Paul can say: "We know in part." It almost seems as if the New Testament itself were in two minds on the subject, now affirming our real knowledge of God and divine things, now calling it in question. "To know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge"—this balancing of insight with ignorance recurs over and over. We know, yet we do not know. What is the upshot of it all? How far does our believing acquaintance with the Divine nature extend?

Our possession of any complete knowledge of God is rendered highly improbable, to say the least, by our lack of a complete knowledge of ourselves. In great measure we are a mystery to our own minds, and the psychology of the unconscious or subliminal heightens this impression. Of other men we know still less. Shadows too are cast on God and His methods from various quarters; the trials of good men, the crowding tragedies of history, the swaying conflict of higher and lower within ourselves. These things do not encourage the claim of omniscience.

In addition, many difficulties flow from the symbolical or analogical character of human thinking. Our thought

of necessity is coloured from end to end by sense-experience; may not this so distort our views of Deity that they become more false than true? Are we entitled to carry over into descriptions of God features which obviously have their origin in the experience of an embodied spirit—not to speak of attributes, such as eternity and omnipresence, which derive much of their meaning from the simple negation of spatial and temporal limits? Even the term "person," as applied to God, is notoriously subject to criticism. "Father" is admittedly a symbol, and Arius went wrong because he took it literally. If we sum up these considerations, what do they amount to? How far can the Christian mind count on really knowing the inner being of God?

The objection that our thoughts of God are unavoidably symbolic may be dealt with in three ways. In the first place, it might be held that our ideas, sense-born as they may be, are yet quite exact, and convey a wholly accurate and precise knowledge of the Divine nature. Or, after a regretful admission that symbolic thought can never be more than approximately correct, it may be argued that the best plan is to cut out the symbolic element relentlessly and make the attempt to describe God in purely abstract terms. Or once more, you may hold that in religious symbols there is nothing to be ashamed of, and that if only the symbols used are the worthiest human experience can furnish, it is precisely by means of them, with all their inadequacy from the intellectual point of view, that we receive true and saving impressions of God. On reflection, I think, it will prove that it is the last of these three suggestions which best suits the genius of Christian faith.

I.

The first contention is that symbolic thinking in religion calls for no defence inasmuch as it gives an exact and

altogether satisfactory representation of the Divine reality. Probably its keenest advocates will only press this view with reservations. No one takes a phrase like "the finger of God" literally. The law of Israel forbade pictures or images of God, but Hebrew religious poetry took its revenge in the most daring imaginative representations of the Divine being and action; yet it is quite certain psalmists and prophets would have listened with amazement to the plea that passages like the following were exactly true: "Stir up Thyself, and awake to my judgement, even unto my cause, my God and my Lord" (Ps. xxxv. 23), or "I have put My words in thy mouth, and have covered thee in the shadow of Mine hand, that I may plant the heavens, and lay the foundations of the earth" (Isa. li. 16). It is questionable whether any modern theologian would venture to interpret the name "Father" or "Son," as applied to the distinctions in the Godhead, with such verbal precision as to consider himself justified in drawing explicit inferences from the name itself, the inference, for example, that the Godhead is on a par with a human family. Even the conception "personality," though the best available, is not to be transferred without alteration from our own life. In us personality has a beginning; it has growth and may have decay; it is manifested through a body: but these things no one will predicate of God just as they stand. No doubt when we say "God is love," the symbolic element appears to be ready to vanish away; yet "love" is taken from a human emotion which indisputably in some respects is worthy to be ascribed to God, but in other respects must be denied, in so far as "love" in earthly life connotes passion or turbulent agitation such as is inconsistent with the absolute Divine freedom. Thus our loftiest notions come short. To call them exact would be to wrong the spirit of religion, for the religious mind, as it rises in the

scale, becomes ever more deeply aware that a God whom we could perfectly measure and comprehend would be wholly unequal to our need. Such a God, deprived of every unsearchable and ineffable quality, and reduced to the limits of our day-by-day conceptions, would no longer be the infinite and exalted One before whom we bow in lowly worship, but an idol built to suit our fancies, controlled by our wayward and mistaken desires, apt to incorporate our dubious and self-satisfied ideals. We might well shrink from the thought that we could "find out the Almighty unto perfection," for in that case reverence would promptly die and the boundless cravings of the heart would once for all be condemned to unfulfilment. As Goethe has expressed it, *Du gleichst dem Geist, den du begreifst.* Thus it is of cardinal importance for faith itself that the element in the idea of Divinity which breaks through language and escapes should never be forgotten. The name "God" must bring us to our knees in awe and wonder, and it has been well said by Otto that the man who does not understand the words put on Abraham's lips, "I have taken upon me to speak unto the Lord, *who am but dust and ashes,*" is a stranger to the inmost meaning of religion.

It is of course true that the ideas we form of great men, of famous religious heroes and leaders of the past, are themselves inexact and approximate. But the difference between the two cases is clear. Our conceptions of Luther, Wesley, Chalmers, Lincoln are all but certainly idealised. It is not that these great figures were not great and good, but that the cool historian, studying the sources impartially, would undoubtedly inform us that we had failed to picture them to ourselves as they really were—"warts and all," in Cromwell's phrase. To say this is not cynicism but historical conscience. They did possess the attributes

of excellence and courage we ordinarily ascribe to them, but in every case—one Name excepted—the great men of history exhibited, beside these qualities, other defects and weaknesses which later idealisation has obliterated. They themselves, we may be certain, would have been the first to protest with indignant and amused surprise, or perhaps with a rather sad smile, against the poetic perfection in which their character has been dressed. It is otherwise with the thoughts we form of Deity. These thoughts and pictures, we have seen, are in no sense precise copies of the Divine fact; they are inadequate, however, not because they are too good for the reality but because they are not good enough. We have added to them subjective elements; the broken mirror of imagination has defaced the higher object; but the effect has been not to glorify an imperfect reality but to darken and distort the perfection of God. We need never fear that our words have said too much or climbed too far. "As the heavens are high above the earth, so are My ways higher than your ways, and My thoughts than your thoughts."

II.

The second proposal is to exclude rigorously from our thought of God all those figurative elements which, with whatever psychological inevitability, have been carried over from human life. For if these conceptual instruments are as defective as we have found them to be, why should they any longer be used? Let us rather renounce altogether the practice of thinking about God in terms derived from the concrete facts of experience. It is in abstract terms alone that He can be conceived as He really is, in His transcendence and absoluteness. This is the policy commended by writers of the right wing of Hegelianism, best exemplified in Biedermann of Zürich. He reaches

what he describes as "the pure and only adequate concept of Absolute Spirit" by discarding, one after the other, not merely the more distinctly emblematic ingredients of religious thought, but even such predicates as will, knowledge and feeling. These are human and therefore cannot be Divine. To say that God wills or knows or feels is so earthly as to defeat its own purpose.

Behind this theory we seem to discern the features of an old but ever-renewed fallacy. This is the view that uneducated people and those who speak to them on religious topics have unfortunately no choice but to employ a certain picture language in which God is set forth by means of carnal parables and analogies, whereas the select circle of the philosophically-minded is privileged to use the abstract and scientific speech of pure knowledge. As one writer points out, this is an error which appears in other fields. "Many a scientific man imagines that when, convinced by investigation, he has stated that light consists in vibrations of the ether, the full and exact knowledge of what light really is is now in his possession; but while he certainly has grasped the object of his study more correctly than the ignorant layman could, and has risen superior to the ordinary delusions of sense, after all he has seen the object only as it appears to his scientifically equipped vision, and has unwittingly made additions of his own to what he sees, thereby shaping and colouring his idea of it." And so with the theologian. He cannot think with anything but a human mind, and the human mind uses and will always use imaginative thought-forms. Thus when Biedermann proceeds to formulate his own definition of God, it turns out to be expressed in language as really, though not perhaps quite so obviously, pictorial in quality, as redolent of sense-born imagery, as any he had previously rejected. When, for example, instead of speaking of God's

"consciousness," which he regards as a term unduly human, he speaks of His *Insichsein*, as though this special word represented the language of pure thought, he has really sunk, not risen in the scale of expression. For with all its defects, "consciousness" is a spiritual or mental word, and what it means we know to some extent, but *Insichsein*, or "being-in-self," is a spatial term properly, and what it suggests of spiritual meaning is vague and indeterminate. The path to which Biedermann mistakenly invites us is, if followed out to its logical termination, the path of pure negativity which at last plunges down into a blank featureless Absolute devoid of all positive or recognisable attributes and therefore not really capable of description; this we are to call blindly, God. Now exactly this was a point which non-Christian mysticism had reached of itself, as the furthest limit of human apprehension; and it is very odd that the Christian idea of God, now that Jesus has been here, should simply coincide with the results attained by Greek and Indian sages, and should not really offer anything that is new. We are once more driven to the confession that every religious idea formed even by the most persistently critical philosopher represents the Divine in symbolic forms of intuition, borrowed from the phenomena of time and space. Grace and freedom are conceived under the figure of the confluence of two finite forces; revelation and piety are conceived as though they were two different facts, separated by an interval of time. We do not escape from this difficulty by restricting our choice of conceptions to the field of inward spiritual experience. There too the only categories we can find are inadequate, and we fall back by instinct, which is really guided by a deeper reason, into pictures and parables.

III.

Let us now turn to the third method. It recommends us frankly to concede that religious thinking must always remain imaginative and pictorial, therefore inexact from the critical point of view, and yet to hold that by means of these very symbolic media we have a true and satisfying knowledge of God. There can be no doubt at all that, alone of the three, this suggestion is in harmony with the inner character of Christian faith. To put the case briefly: if we apply the principle that the cause is known through its effects, we may rightly describe the Power confronting us in Jesus Christ as the Power of sovereign holy Love. To those who have felt this Power it is the most real thing in the universe; indeed, the standard and measure of all reality and value. It is highest in the highest sphere of all spheres known to us; it is a Personal Life, intent on fellowship with man; for the irreducible minimum of Christian faith may be said to be this, that a world with Jesus in it is a world with a great and loving God over it. Henceforward the name of God is not simply a mystery; it is a significant name, the content of which, though set in pictorial forms, we have constraining reason to regard as trans-subjectively true. Insoluble problems, it is still admitted, gather round the *degree* of adequacy with which the ideas of faith transcribe the facts of God's being, thus presented in Jesus; but the abiding sense we have of their partial inadequacy no more necessitates the negation of their truth, so far as they go, than the same kind of inadequacy in our conception of the character and inner experience of a friend compels us to regard him as a subjective illusion. We have a right to go on believing that, as confronted and evoked by Jesus Christ, faith does grasp the side of God's being which is turned towards men. If a symbolic colour is fatal to religious knowledge, it is equally

fatal to the real insight of ethics, history, and common life.

The insight of faith, however, is in one sense quite fragmentary. Nor can anyone so well afford to confess this as a Christian. Our grasp of the Father certifies to us, indeed, the fact of Providence, but the method or process of providential guidance is as much hidden from the Christian as from others. We cannot look on at God's operations through His eyes; we cannot see the details of His purpose in the world from the inner side, or as He sees them. Theoretical teleology can never be for us anything more than a matter of suggestion; for, until we know the whole, the function of the part within the whole remains a matter of hypothesis; and there is nothing in the Gospel itself to alter this.

None the less, the full assurance of faith is to the effect that, in spite of our ignorance of the inner processes, to call them so, of the Divine mind, as well as of the detailed actualisation of the Divine purpose in history, we do actually know God Himself. And this assurance includes, as part of itself, the further certainty that the innermost secret of God's being—that in God by virtue of which He *is* God—lies in what has been disclosed to us in Jesus, not in the still veiled region which, in this life at all events, is inaccessible and by its very nature cut off from our present knowledge; and that this veiled region contains nothing which could impair or cancel the revelations of the known. When St. John wrote, "No man hath seen God at any time," he passed judgment on the curiosity that would pry into the life of Him "Who dwells in light that none can approach"; when he added, "the only-begotten Son, who is in the Father's bosom, hath brought Him out to view," he affirmed the reality and sufficiency of faith's apprehension of God. The Christian, ignorant as he may be of much concerning

God, is only beginning the process of spiritual knowledge, so to speak, from the other end; sure of the character and mind of the Father, he is working outward from this centre, not inwards from without. Once the main question has been settled for ever, subordinate problems, painful as they may be, can be borne calmly. To quote Illingworth's impressive parallel: "The great politician, or philosopher, or poet, is known to the outer world by the work that he has done; but his child, his wife, his friend, who know the human heart within him, are content in that great knowledge to leave all else alone."

Thus it is not the case that, by confessing the logically inadequate character of religious ideas, we leave Christian faith an open tumbling-ground for whimsies. There is no need to fear lest the acknowledgment of a region in God beyond all human thought should place us at the mercy of every sort of superstition, breaking in casually from the beyond, as though the unsurveyed domain might be peopled with shapes of fear and darkness. Doubts, after all, can never cancel knowledge. We have met in Christ a God whom we can trust without reserve; with the Reformers, we know "no other God than the God who has manifested Himself in the historical Christ, and made us see in the miracle of faith that He is our salvation." That complete trust is qualitatively perfect though not quantitatively synoptic; it fixes a principle, though from where we stand we cannot see far or wide enough to apply the principle in detail to each element in the life of God. The admission that there might be in God certain moral characteristics at variance with sovereign Love would not merely plant irrational dualism at the heart of the moral order; it would kill that confidence in Jesus through which our mind has opened to faith in the Father.

But if as Christians we possess a spiritually adequate

knowledge of God, in the strength of which we live, is it possible to find fit words for this knowledge; such words or expressions, that is, as will truthfully convey it to other minds? Can we communicate what we know? We can, provided the symbols with which our words are charged be drawn only from the purest and loftiest range of human experience. In other words, they must be derivable from those fields of life where personality is manifested most worthily. Not from the domain of law or commerce, but from social and family life at their highest. The same symbol is not everywhere useful. "There are parts of the world," it has been noted, "where the whole set of ideas which we associate with the 'Lamb of God' can make no appeal, because the sheep is a savage animal." The Christian name for God is "Father," and that it should be so is no accident. For while the name is a symbol after all and may often have called up a mental image far too human to be true, while inferences based directly on a metaphor and developed with ruthless logic have in the past done much to discredit theology, yet in this case two countervailing considerations may be pled. In the first place, by discarding the term "Father," we should not gain in adequacy, but lose. To affirm the Fatherhood of God may be unsatisfactory or meaningless from the point of view of ontology, but to deny it, as Christians are convinced, is to diverge immensely further from the truth. Instead of rising to that which is ethically and spiritually superior, the mind sinks inevitably to something lower, to the pantheistic and sub-personal. And secondly, it cannot be forgotten that the New Testament defines this Fatherhood in a quite concrete manner; it defines it as relative to the experience of Jesus Christ. God, it teaches, is such a Father as is mirrored in Jesus' mind. Hence while in contemplating the Fatherhood of God

we should of course concede that hope and fear, joy and pain, perplexity and aspiration are not to be ascribed to God in the form they assume in the experience of a father on earth—indeed, in some of these instances, are not to be ascribed to God at all—yet we do contend, with the revelation given through Christ on our side, that the love, the care, the wisdom, the spirit of self-sacrifice which are imperfectly revealed in earthly fatherhood, exist in utter perfection in the Eternal. Our ideas, our symbols, are indeed unworthy of their object; the form is incurably unequal to the matter; we have the treasure in earthen vessels. Yet while the vessels are earthen, they convey treasure to the needy, and through them the life and power of God reach and save us.

This means that to a great extent the business of theology consists in the criticism of religious symbols. It is far from being a matter of indifference which pictures or images men use to set forth the supersensible and transcendent. In the vocabulary of the believing there exist at every stage certain pictorial representations of God and His action which are long past their best and have yielded all the service to Christian thought of which they are capable. It is high time to place them on the retired list, or at all events to relegate them to strictly subordinate functions. Everyone knows, for example, that a useful classification of theories of the Atonement might be formed according to the kind of symbol which each theory employs, and that there are numerous elements in the military, or the legal, or the commercial theories of the past with which the Christian mind will not work any more. It is difficult to overestimate the aid—often most unwillingly accepted—given to Christian theology by the searching strictures passed on such religious symbols by the heretic and the sceptic. They have compelled the Church to do more

efficiently its task of ever-renewed inspection and review. They have called attention to the moral inconsistency of divergent symbols or to the impossibility of taking mere symbols as the basis of argument, for too often in the history of doctrine tempting figures have been pressed in the most inconsiderate fashion by a mode of thought which is full of delusions. In this matter, theology is called to be a conscience to the Church. Its work is not to purge religious thought of symbol—this can never succeed—but to waken men to the fact that their ideas about God *are* really symbolic and hence perpetually in need of being tested afresh by experience and reflection; and, in addition, to re-examine current figures in the light of Jesus' revelation of God. This perennial duty to elevate and refine the conceptions which piety makes use of is itself a salutary reminder that our knowledge of God, our insight into His life, is but in part.

In discharging this critical task, theology, it would seem, is bound to obey two rules or principles. In the first place, every figure or expression must be eliminated which is calculated to suggest a thought of God unlike Jesus Christ. There is no need to say that every true idea about God must be derivable from Christ; everything essential is secured if we say that no idea can be admitted which is out of harmony with Him. And again, while Christian men undoubtedly are free to strike out such new images or symbols as in their considered judgment will better serve to bring home the Christian message to their own time, the new symbolism must be vitally continuous with the old. Amidst changing terminologies there must remain a kernel or nucleus of *meaning* which does not change, but preserves and perpetuates the historic self-identity of Christian faith. This innermost core, as it were, of description can be mediated best of all by the

symbol of Fatherhood, under the strong safeguards against misunderstanding of the name which are furnished by the Gospels. God is the Father of Jesus Christ our Lord, and our Father through Him.

H. R. Mackintosh.

APOSTOLIC PROGRESS IN CATHOLICITY IN SPITE OF A SPURIOUS CITATION.

I.

The book of Amos, as it stands, ends with a prophecy which included the following as its salient particular, that Jahweh would raise up the tabernacle of David which was fallen, and extend the borders of the kingdom so as to comprehend all the nations over which the name of Jahweh had once been called, i.e., all that had ever owned Israel's supremacy, and thereby acknowledged at the same time the sovereignty of Israel's God (Amos ix. 11–12).

The interest of this prediction is greatly enhanced by the fact that it played a part in the discussion of the Council held in Jerusalem for the consideration of the then burning question whether circumcision was necessary to the salvation of Gentile believers (Acts xv. 1–2). The Gospel had been preached with good results at Antioch, which, though the capital of Syria, was practically a Greek city. But while the auspicious movement was still in progress "certain men" came down from Judæa who taught the brethren that, to be saved, they must be circumcised after the custom of Moses (Acts xv. 1); and thereby raised quite a storm in the infant Christian community.

The question was referred to an assembly of apostles and elders specially convened for the occasion. Peter opened the discussion by declaring himself in favour of exempting

the Gentiles from the galling rite, founding his plea on the fact that, in the case of Cornelius and his household, the Spirit had been actually given to uncircumcised Gentiles. Paul and Barnabas followed in the same line of argument, rehearsing what signs and wonders God had, by their instrumentality, wrought among the Gentiles. After they ceased, James, the brother of our Lord, and president of the Church in Jerusalem, stood up and advocated the same liberal policy, commending it by a reference to prophecy in general, and to a prophecy of Amos in particular :—

After these things I will return,
And I will build again the tabernacle of David which is fallen,
. . . . .
That the residue of men may seek after the Lord,
And all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called (xv. 16–17).

The form, however, in which James cites the passage differs in various particulars from the original; and, unfortunately, the part most essential to his argument differs from it most of all. The LXX tamper with the Hebrew text, and James, in his turn, tampers with the LXX.

(1) To the opening words of his professed quotation (*μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστρέψω*) there is nothing that corresponds either in the Hebrew or in the Greek text. *Μετὰ ταῦτα* takes the place of the more definite ביום ההוא. As regards *ἀναστρέψω*, it seems at first a purely gratuitous interpolation. There is nothing to indicate whither Jahweh had retired, or whither He was to return, or what connexion there would be between His returning and what would follow. One feels there is an emphasis on the verb, however, just because it is an insertion. In accordance with a well-known Hebrew idiom, I venture to suggest that *ἀναστρέψω*, instead of being co-ordinate with, is subordinate to, *ἀνοικοδομήσω*. If the author of the clause thought in

Hebrew, as James may have done, and then translated the Hebrew literally into Greek (not distinguishing between the letter and the sense) *ἀναστρέψω καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω* would be a reproduction of אשוב והקימותי; but, interpreted according to the sense, as distinguished from the letter, these words would not mean "I will return and raise up," but simply "I will again raise up." If such be the explanation of *ἀναστρέψω*, the seeming arbitrariness of its appearance wholly disappears. Instead of inserting anything into the text, it only brings out what is latent in it, and is in fact expressed in our E.V., "I will build *again* the tabernacle of David."

But, *ἀνα*, prefixed to *οἰκοδομήσω*, does not necessarily mean "again"; it may be used in a local sense, giving to the compound verb the meaning, "I will build *up*," and thus presenting a contrast to the Hebrew הנפלת, or the Greek *πεπτωκυῖαν*. May it not be therefore that, while *ἀνα* in *ἀνοικοδομήσω* is used in the local sense, *ἀναστρέψω*, followed by *ἀνοικοδομήσω*, simply serves to bring out more clearly the temporal idea of repetition?

(2) Another point to be noted in the quotation is that it omits the words "as in the days of old" (Amos ix. 11), which define the character of the structure to be re-erected by what it had formerly been. A house might be rebuilt, yet not just as it originally was, but according to a plan more or less modified, and on another scale. James certainly leaves the impression on our minds that "the tabernacle of David" was to be *re*built; but the Hebrew text is much more explicit on the point, for it distinctly adds, "as in the days of old." The prospect, therefore, was not of a kingdom transcending either in character or in extent that over which David ruled, but one of the same kind, political, military, imperial; nor would it embrace all nations, but only those who had formerly paid tribute to David.

It was therefore far from being commensurate, either in spirituality or in universality, with the kingdom of the Messiah, who drew His distinction, not from being "the Son of David," but the peerless Son of God. The hope therefore was strictly limited to the reproduction of a bygone state of things.

(3) The most important points of difference between the citation and the original text yet remain to be noted. According to the one, the "tabernacle" is to be restored in order "that the residue of men may earnestly seek the Lord, and all the nations over which my (His) name has been called." According to the other, the object of its rehabilitation is "that they [the house of David? or the people it represents?] may possess [a strong word!] the remnant of Edom and all the nations," etc. In this case the difference is so great that James cannot be said to be quoting Amos at all. How the Hebrew text should have been so transformed is not only an interesting question, but one which happily admits of an entirely satisfactory reply—that James is quoting, not from the Hebrew text, but from the LXX, which had come to be regarded by the Greek-speaking Jews as equally authoritative with the original; and which, to judge by this instance, was acknowledged as such even in Jerusalem, and by James, one of the most conservative and least Hellenistic of the primitive leaders of the Church; by the whole Council indeed, including apostles and elders, and different shades of thought as well as different grades of official rank.

A very slight alteration, however, in the Hebrew script would account for all the difference in meaning between the two texts.

(*a*) The Hebrew speaks of "the residue of Edom," whereas the LXX speaks of "the residue of men"; but the very same Hebrew characters (אדם) might be pointed either as

אֱדֹם (Edom) or as אָדָם (man, in the collective sense). That the Greek must here yield to the Massoretic text admits of no doubt. In the former "the residue of men" can only mean all men other than Israelites, i.e., the Gentiles; and yet, in the following clause, they are not identified with, but distinguished from, the Gentiles, at least from all the nations who had been subject to Israel, and thus numbered among Jahweh's vassals; whereas, in the Hebrew text, such an impropriety of expression is utterly excluded, all the Gentiles over whom Jahweh's name had been called being there distinguished, not from Israel, but from Edom, which was only one of the non-Israelite nations once subject to Israel, and thereby to Jahweh.

(*b*) A more important difference between the two readings, namely, the substitution in the LXX of the verb "seek earnestly"—ἐκζητήσωσι—for "possess"—יירשו—is accounted for by the transformation of a single letter (י) into another (ד), not altogether dissimilar in form, giving ידרשו for יירשו.

(*c*) It should be noted, however, that "the Lord" (τὸν Κύριον), whom, according to James, the Gentiles are to "seek earnestly," is a pure insertion, there being no word at all in the Hebrew text to represent it, nor does it occur in the *Codex Vaticanus* of the LXX, all that we find there being "that the residue of men may seek earnestly"—a manifestly imperfect clause, the necessary object being altogether unexpressed. This omission is another decisive argument in favour of the conclusion that the LXX does not represent the true text. The fact that other MSS. do supply an object to the verb, but supply it variously, the *Alexandrian Codex*, e.g., offering τὸν Κύριον, while another offers με, i.e., Jahweh, rather favours the hypothesis that these readings are diverse attempts to supply an obvious blank in an obvious way.

(*d*) Another point of difference between the Massoretic

text and the LXX is that שארית is preceded by אֶת, marking the accusative, whereas *οἱ κατάλοιποι*, which corresponds to it, stands in the nominative case.

By these variations—the omission of the words ביום עולם, the transformation of יירשו into ידרשו, the conversion of an accusative את־שארית into a nominative, *οἱ κατάλοιποι*, and the insertion of a new object (*τὸν Κύριον*) to the verb *ἐκζητήσωσι*—the passage acquires quite a different meaning. Moreover, the changes co-operate to the same effect, viz., the spiritualising and universalising of the promise; for the words omitted (ביום עולם) restrict the raising up of "the tabernacle of David" to the mere restoration of a glory which had already been long in abeyance, while their omission sets the prophecy free from such a definite restriction. Further, the end, "that the residue of men may earnestly seek the Lord," is decidedly spiritual, whereas the end specified in the Hebrew text is simply political.

Thus the changes made partly in accordance, and partly at variance, with the LXX are much more favourable to the liberal policy advocated by the leaders of the Church than the Hebrew text would have been; in fact, the Hebrew text would not have served their purpose at all. For, according to the original prophecy, the distinction made between Israel and the Gentiles, to the conspicuous advantage of the former, was not to disappear in the Messianic age; on the contrary, Israel was to recover possession of Edom, and of other once subject nations, and so to exercise complete dominion over them. In its original form, therefore, the promise was really more favourable to the Pharisaic party, who contended that, to be saved, the Gentiles must do homage to Judaism by consenting to be circumcised, than to the evangelical party, who were disposed to release the Gentiles from a yoke which, as Peter remarked, had become intolerable to the Jews themselves. Instead of

lending support to the idea that the middle-wall of partition was to be broken down, and that the two deeply sundered sections of the human race were to be fused together in a common fellowship with God, it rather countenanced the bigoted belief that Israel was to regain, and to retain, an imperial place among the nations.

(4) In the quotation by James we have already discovered two internal objections to its being accepted as the genuine text, viz., that "the residue of men" are distinguished from the Gentiles, of whom they are a part, and that in the authentic text of the LXX, as given in the *Codex Vaticanus*, the verb ἐκζητήσω is left without an object; but, in the third place, it militates against the text of the quotation, that in it the connexion between the rebuilding of "the tabernacle of David" and the end to which that restoration was subsidiary is not so evident as in the Hebrew text. How the revival of the Davidic dynasty and kingdom was to result in the earnest seeking of Jahweh by the Gentiles is not explained, or in any way indicated; but, in the Hebrew text, the two things brought into relation are so connected by their very nature that no explanation is required, the restoration of the house of David being the direct cause of its political ascendency, and of its resumption of the suzerainty which it exercised "in the days of old."

It is also important to note that, even if the quotation were allowed to rank as veritable scripture, it would not settle the controversy for the determination of which the Council was held; for the question was not whether the Gentiles might seek the Lord, nor even whether they could be saved—points conceded by both parties—but whether they needed to be circumcised in order to salvation. The main factor in the decision at which the Council arrived with a remarkable unanimity—that, in the case of the Gentiles, circumcision might be dispensed with—was not

the quotation, or misquotation, of any of the prophets, but rather the two undeniable facts rehearsed by the apostles Peter, Paul and Barnabas, viz., the conversion of the Gentiles and the manifest descent of the Spirit on uncircumcised believers. God Himself had thus, in the most unambiguous way, settled the question. By His own act He had made it evident, not only that circumcision was unnecessary to the salvation of Gentiles, but immaterial also in the case of Jews. This, somewhat to our astonishment, Peter fully recognised; for the inference which he drew from the case of Cornelius was not that without circumcision the Gentiles could be saved as the Jews with it, but, with a severer logic, which he did not always exemplify, that the Jew is saved, if at all, in the same way as the Gentile, and therefore independently of his being circumcised. "Now therefore why tempt ye God, that ye should put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? But we believe that we shall be saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus, in like manner as they" (xv. 10–11).

The question might be asked why the conservative party in the Council (if such a party there was) acquiesced in James's citation, when it so perverted the Hebrew text, and did not appeal to the original, which, in spirit at least, was much more favourable to their contention. But the decision was apparently determined not so much by the quotation as by the facts which the several apostles adduced from their experience of the blessed effects of the Gospel among the Gentiles. In view of the overwhelming significance of these, there was the less need to examine the quotation in the critical way inevitable to us. If James, with his quotation, had any effect in shaping the resolution of the Council, it would only shew that neither he nor they had acquired the critical habit—a fact abundantly

illustrated by other citations from the Old Testament occurring in all parts of the New.

II.

We cannot conclude without a reference to a larger and more fundamental question which, during the last thirty years, has attracted much attention, and has been answered, unlike many another critical question, immediately, and with a wonderful chorus of unanimity. In 1892 Wellhausen published the fifth part of his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, which was a critical commentary on *The Minor Prophets*. "I do not believe," he says, "that ix. 8–15 comes from Amos. After ix. 1–4, 7 [which speak of the destruction of the people, and the utter impossibility of any one escaping], he cannot all at once say it was not seriously meant, and that all will yet turn out wonderfully well; for in those verses he does not speak jestingly but with a passionate earnestness (*mit blutigem Ernst*); he means what he says. After he has just surpassed all his former threatenings, he cannot break off their point, and end by pouring milk and honey out of the flagon of Jahweh's wrath. He is unique in this, that he looks clear into the eye of Destiny, that the overthrow of Israel signifies for him the victory of Jahweh—and after the boldest upsoaring of his faith, shall he lamely sink back into the illusion with which he grapples? Shall the illusion triumph over its destroyer, the God of wishes over the God of historical necessity? Rather has a later Jew attached the Coda, and displaced the genuine close, because it sounded too harsh in his ears."

In the third edition of his *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, which appeared in 1896, Cornill is so convinced by Wellhausen's argument that he ventures to say no one will any longer wish to maintain the authenticity of ix. 8–15, a prediction which has been remarkably fulfilled. In 1897

Nowack, in his commentury on *Die Kleinen Propheten*, endorsed the judgement of Cornill and Wellhausen. In the same year Sir George Adam Smith, in his first volume dealing with the same range of Scripture, arrived at the same conclusion. In 1897 yet another critic, Paul Volz, entered the field to corroborate and expand the argument of Wellhausen. In 1899 Smend declared for it, in 1904 Marti, and in 1905 Stade and William Rainey Harper. All these scholars take their place among the most eminent workers of recent times in the field of Old Testament Literature.

In a private company of English-speaking students—British and American—whom he had kindly gathered around him, the venerable Professor Franz Delitzsch once made the remark in regard to one of Peter's earlier speeches in *The Acts of the Apostles*, Petrus war kein Professor! Nor, after forty years, have I forgotten the smile which went round the circle at the safe but significant admission. But, though James gave a false turn to the LXX, and the LXX tampered with the Hebrew text, and the Hebrew text of Amos ix. 8–15 (unless all these scholars are mistaken) was not by Amos at all, but by some unknown manipulator who desired to modernise the work of the mighty prophet of Tekoah, and so converted a tragedy into a comedy, no smile seems to have passed over the faces of the sober fathers composing the primitive Christian Council in Jerusalem.

On what day was "the tabernacle of David" ever raised up again "as in the days of old"?

ALEX. M'NAIR.

DOES THE ORIGINAL COLLECTION OF LOGIA ("Q") CONTAIN PREDICTION OF OUR LORD'S RESURRECTION?

This question presented itself to me in 1910, while I was taking a class through Harnack's *Sayings of Jesus.*

Three points in Harnack emerged for our guidance:

1. "Q" was first to be sought for in "Non-Markan passages which are common to both St. Matthew and St. Luke."

2. As between St. Matthew and St. Luke, it had been affirmed—apart from some exceptional instances—that "the text appears in more trustworthy form in St. Matthew."

3. Harnack's high valuation of the text of Westcott and Hort.

In St. Mark there are five predictions of His resurrection attributed to our Lord. Three of these may be called principal, and two more or less subsidiary. All five have their parallels in St. Matthew. Only two, but these out of the principal three, are paralleled in St. Luke.

In the text of Westcott and Hort the parallels stand as follow:—

I. (Principal).

Mark viii. 31.	Matthew xvi. 21.	Luke ix. 22.
καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστῆναι.	καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθῆναι.	καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθῆναι.

II.

Mark ix. 9, 10.	Matthew xvii. 9.
. . . εἰ μὴ ὅταν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῇ . . . συνζητοῦντες τί ἐστιν τὸ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆναι.	. . . ἕως οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγερθῇ.

III. (Principal).

Mark ix. 31.	Matthew xvii. 23.
καὶ ἀποκτανθεὶς μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστήσεται.	καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν αὐτόν, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθήσεται.

IV. (Principal).

Mark x. 34.	Matthew xx. 19.	Luke xviii. 33.
καὶ ἀποκτανθεὶς μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστήσεται.	*καὶ σταυρῶσαι, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθήσεται.*	*ἀποκτενοῦσιν αὐτὸν καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ ἀναστήσεται.*

V.

Mark xiv. 28.	Matthew xxvi. 32.
μετὰ τὸ ἐγερθῆναί με προάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.	*μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐγερθῆναί με προάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν* Γαλιλαίαν.

The greatest importance obviously attaches to what I have called the three principal predictions, viz. I., III. and IV.

In I., St. Matthew and St. Luke have both *τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθῆναι.*

St. Mark has *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστῆναι.*

The variety in MSS. leads Westcott and Hort to put *ἀναστῆναι* in the margin of St. Luke as alternate to *ἐγερθῆναι.* Tischendorf quotes for *ἐγερθῆναι* ℵBLRΞ unc.[13]; for *ἀναστῆναι* ACDF*K*Π*.

In III., St. Luke has no prediction of resurrection, only of being "delivered into the hands of men."

St. Matthew has *τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθήσεται,* with *ἀναστήσεται* as marginal alternative. Tischendorf quotes, for *ἐγερθήσεται* ℵCDI unc.[14]; for *ἀναστήσεται* B.

St. Mark has *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστήσεται.* Tischendorf quotes for *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας* ℵBC*DLΔ; for another reading *τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ* AC³NX*ΓΠ*.

In IV., both St. Matthew and St. Luke have "on the third day"—St. Matthew *τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ,* St. Luke *τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ.*

St. Matthew has *ἐγερθήσεται,* with *ἀναστήσεται* in the margin. Tischendorf quotes for *ἐγερθήσεται* ℵC*LNZ; for *ἀναστήσεται* BC²DEGHK.

But St. Luke has *ἀναστήσεται,* though Tischendorf quotes *ἐγερθήσεται* in L and other less important MSS.

St. Mark has *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστήσεται.*

Our first attention is to the difference in verbs.

St. Matthew invariably (in WH text) uses the passive of *ἐγείρειν*, never parts of *ἀνιστάναι.*

St. Mark only once out of five passages uses *ἐγείρειν*; in the other four, including the three principal, always *ἀνιστάναι.*

St. Luke uses *ἐγείρειν* once, and once *ἀνιστάναι.*

The adverbial clause denoting time is always in St. Matthew and St. Luke *τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ* (or more emphatically as in Luke xviii. 33 *τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ*); and in St. Mark is always *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας.*

Μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας never occurs in St. Luke. In St. Matthew it only occurs once (xxvii. 63), in a quotation of Jesus' words by the chief priests to Pilate. Even then it is followed by *ἐγείρεσθαι*, not *ἀνιστάναι.*

The distinctness of St. Mark is the more pronounced when we remember that St. Paul never once used *ἀνιστάναι* of the resurrection of Jesus, but always used the passive of *ἐγείρειν.* He never used *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας*, but only *τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.*

Making all allowance for the diversity of readings in the MSS., we recall Harnack's dictum that "the text appears in a more trustworthy form in St. Matthew."

It is surely safe to say that St. Mark is distinct from St. Matthew and St. Luke, always in the adverbial clause, and mostly in the verbs; that St. Matthew and St. Luke agree with each other in the adverbial clause always, and in the verb once out of twice.

The question becomes urgent: Can the common source of these predictions in St. Matthew and St. Luke be found in St. Mark? How could the compilers of St. Matthew and St. Luke, with St. Mark lying before them, alter

ἀνιστάναι into ἐγείρεσθαι, and μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας into τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ?

And does not St. Paul's usage suggest that ἐγείρεσθαι was the verb most used of our Lord's resurrection in the earlier time ? Then the stress was laid on the activity of the Father in raising Jesus from the dead. The part of Jesus in the great exhibition of Divine Power was represented as passive, and was described by the passive verb. Later the stress was laid on Jesus' own activity in rising from the dead, and ἀνιστάναι took the place of ἐγείρεσθαι.

So in the symbols of the early Church given in Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln*, Jesus' own action in the uprising is expressed. They always use ἀνιστάναι and never ἐγείρεσθαι. Curiously enough, while these symbols always agree with St. Mark in the use of ἀνιστάναι, they never use his μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας : they always agree with St. Matthew in using τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

We have found that in the epistles of St. Paul ἐγείρεσθαι is used invariably of our Lord's resurrection. Later, in the symbols it is never used ; ἀνιστάναι is always used. St. Matthew uses ἐγείρεσθαι, St. Mark uses ἀνιστάναι. There is at least a suggestion that of the two sources the predictive sayings in St. Matthew were earlier than those in St. Mark.

Is it not reasonable to suppose that τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθῆναι(-ήσεται) was found in "Non-Markan passages common to both St. Matthew and St. Luke" ? and that the Non-Markan source was probably earlier than St. Mark ?

In other words, did not "Q" contain these three principal predictions of our Lord's resurrection ?

The drastic and far-reaching results of such a conclusion are too obvious to need pointing out here.

F. Herbert Stead.

WHO WROTE THE FIRST CHAPTER OF GENESIS?

The story of the Six Days of Creation (Gen. i. 1–ii. 4*a*) is assigned by literary critics to the Priestly Narrative (P) of the Pentateuch. This assignment of the narrative in its present form can hardly be challenged, for the reader of the passage cannot help recognising in it several of the striking characteristics of P. And yet there is much in Genesis i. 1–ii. 4*a* which does not correspond with Driver's description of the Priestly style in *L.O.T.* "P is stereotyped, measured and prosaic. The narrative . . . is articulated systematically: the beginning and close of an enumeration are regularly marked by stated formulæ. The descriptions of P are methodical and precise. When they embrace details, emphasis and completeness are studied; . . . His representations of God are less anthropomorphic than those of J, or even of E" (p. 129 f., 128).

Few readers, however, would pronounce Genesis i. 1–ii. 4*a* to be "prosaic" without a twinge of misgiving. There is surely poetry in "Let there be light: and there was light." Further, if the narrative of Creation be now "articulated systematically," there are scholars who believe that the narrative once existed—even in Hebrew—in a "freer" form. Karl Budde (*Die biblische Urgeschichte*, 1883) claimed a generation ago to have detected such an earlier form, which he called J^2.

We may accept Budde's lead so far as to decide that the earlier Hebrew writer of Genesis i. belonged to an entirely different school from that of P. In fact, the very first chapter of our Bible has come to us exactly as described

in Hebrews i. 1, "by divers portions and in divers manners."

As soon as Genesis i. is studied in detail the elaborated phrases of P are seen to have been embroidered upon the simple and vivid terms of an earlier Hebrew writing. A Prophet's Song makes itself heard through the Priestly prose.

It is to be observed in the first place that the recurring "formulæ" of Genesis i. need careful examination. No doubt as recurring formulæ they belong to P, but some of these clauses seem to have had a place in the Creation narrative before they were repeated and turned into formulæ. Originally they were due to an earlier narrator than P. Take, for instance, the words which follow the account of the origin of Light: "And God saw the light that it was good." No doubt this clause suggested the refrain "And God saw that it was good," which occurs verse 12 (third day), verse 18 (fourth day), verse 21 (fifth day), verse 25 (sixth day), but verse 4*a* possesses a significance of its own, and it does not in fact belong to the series. The Creator's joy in light signifies that He is a beneficent God.

But it is to be observed that the statement, "And God saw the light that it was good" is a daring one. The language is as anthropomorphic as any in Genesis. It attributes to God a share in the common experience of mankind. It reminds us of J's description of the LORD as walking in the garden in the cool of the day and summoning man to converse with Him. "Heaven lies about us in our infancy"; and there is deep spirituality behind this child-like language, but the terms themselves are too anthropomorphic for P to have invented them; they must belong to an earlier form of the Creation story.

A similar conclusion is reached from a careful consideration of verse 5*b*, "and there was evening, and there was morning, one day" (so R.V.). The rendering of A.V.

(" the first day ") which treats the clause as one of a series, is a mistake. A series there is, but this clause was not originally a member of it. It is in fact an independent statement to the effect that the great natural institution which we call the Day is of Divine origin. Our " Day " in its two parts of darkness and light, a period for rest and a period for work, had its origin in the creative *fiat*, " Let there be light." The author shrinks, perhaps, from saying that God created the Darkness, but he tells us that God, by dividing the Light from the Darkness, created the Day with its alternation of Darkness and Light. God, he tells us, was the Creator not only of material things, but also of immaterial institutions which make for the good of man.

The original author could not guess that a successor would hang upon the simple term, " one day," a scheme of six days of Creation followed by a day of Divine rest. His own scheme was different. In Genesis i. there are *eight* (not *six*) creative acts, corresponding with *eight* creative *fiats*. The later writer, being familiar with the institution of the Week, had his attention caught by the phrase, " one day," and not unnaturally proceeded to compress the eight *fiats* within a six days' scheme of creative activity. This writer may have been P, or possibly one earlier than P, if the Sabbath (and so the week) was indeed known to Jeremiah (Jer. xvii. 21, 22) and to Ezekiel (Ezek. xx. 12, 13) as a Divine institution.

Some critics would perhaps detect P's characteristic use of " formulæ " in verses 5, 8, 10 (*bis*). The instances are these :

Verse 5. And God called the light Day ; and the darkness he called Night.

Verse 8. And God called the firmament Heaven.

Verse 10. And God called the dry land Earth ; and the gathering together of the waters called he Seas.

To the insular English reader these clauses may seem otiose and formal, and so to be assigned to P. The Eastern would judge differently. To him the Naming of the Names is part of the work of Creation: it puts the seal of permanence upon it. In the East a Thing can hardly be said to exist until it has received a Name. So the primeval chaos is described in the Babylonian Seven Tablets of Creation in the words:

When above the heavens were yet unnamed,
And the name of the earth beneath had not been recorded.

So in Genesis i., when God proclaims the names of Day and Night, of Heaven and Earth and Sea, He confirms His work of creation and "finishes" it. We have not "formulæ" here, but statements of great matter. This solemn Naming belongs to a province of thought too ancient and too widely spread in the Eastern world to be characteristic of P.

Verses 1–5 stand out especially from the rest of the chapter as free from the marks of P's style. Two characteristic words, however, call for some discussion since they are taken as Priestly idioms in Carpenter and Harford's *Hexateuch*: the verbs *hibdīl*, "separate," and *bārā*, "create" (p. 412). But first it is to be observed that Driver includes neither of these two words in his corresponding list (*L.O.T.*, pp. 131–5). *Hibdīl* is without doubt one of P's technical terms used to signify the ritual separation to be made between things "clean" and "unclean." But division between light and darkness is a different conception from division between "clean" and "unclean." Genesis i. in verse 4, and still more in verses 6, 7, uses *hibdīl* in the literal, physical sense, which no doubt is earlier than the technical application of the word in P. *Hibdīl* thus used as a non-technical term is *not* characteristic of P.

Neither can it be maintained that *bārā*, "create," is

characteristic of the style of P. The Hebrew word as used in Genesis i. 1–ii. 4*a* cannot be tied to this metaphysical sense. It is true that Aquila in his sophisticated translation gives the rendering ἔκτισεν in i. 1, but LXX is content to give the simpler ἐποίησεν, "made."

Etymology throws no certain light on the subject, although we may mention a noteworthy suggestion by Professor Bevan. He has pointed out [1] that the Arabic root, which exactly corresponds to *bārā*, bears the meaning "to be exempt (free) from a thing." Now the notion of "being free" from a thing may easily pass into that of "finishing, accomplishing" it, and we gain (among other advantages) a satisfactory translation of the difficult phrase at the end of ii. 3, "which God *created to make*" (literal), i.e. which God finished making. Again that *bārā* in the Piel in Joshua xvii. 15 may mean "make free," i.e. unoccupied, hardly needs to be stated. This is a weighty suggestion, but surely it leaves Genesis i. 1 unsatisfied. "God finished the heavens and the earth" does not stand well at the beginning of a book.

Dr. Skinner (I.C.C. *in loco*) has a good note on the word. His conclusion is that *bārā* is partly synonymous with *'āsāh*, but [Gen. ii. 3] "shows that it had a specific shade of meaning. The idea cannot be defined with precision, but," etc.

I would suggest from a consideration of the passages of the Hebrew Bible in which *bārā* occurs that the distinction between *'āsāh* and *bārā* is that between "make" and "design" (or "devise"). *Bārā*, "create," lays stress on mental effort: one who is "Creator" works on a plan and with an end in view. Thus in Genesis i. 1 it is stated that God "devised" (*bārā*) the heavens and the earth. The rest of the chapter is the detailed justification of this general statement. The "planning" and "arranging" is narrated

[1] *Journal of Philology*, xxix. 264 f.

point by point: God "separated" the light from the darkness; He "made" a firmament; He commanded the earth to bring forth herbs; He "set" the luminaries in the firmament of heaven. When next the writer uses the word *bārā*, it is again because the idea of purpose is uppermost in his mind: God "created" the great sea-monsters (ver. 21). Why "created" and not simply "made"? Because the author is answering a doubt which existed in the minds of those for whom he wrote. The *tanninim*, "sea-monsters," were thought to represent the powers of old Chaos, which were overcome when the Creator made heaven and earth: the *tanninim* then surely were outside the work of Creation? No, our writer answers, all things, even these monsters, come from the Creator's hand: He made them with a purpose; He *created* them. So the Psalmist (civ. 26) writes of the chief of them: "Leviathan whom thou didst form *to play with him*," i.e. to show thy power over him.

Again in verse 27 "devise" is obviously a suitable sense to assign to *bārā*:

> And God created (devised) man in his image,
> In the image of God created he him;
> Male and female created he them.

The preceding verse is full of the suggestion of mental effort and of working on a plan with an end in full view:

"And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth."

Man was to be made after a certain pattern and for a certain destiny. Such making is a Divine process, and it is distinguished by the name of Creation. Accordingly the writer continues in verse 27, "So God created (*bārā*)

man," i.e. he designed him in a certain image (His own), and for a certain end, i.e. in order that he might act as His own vicegerent upon earth.

The notion of *designing* or *devising* (*contriving*) applies also to cases in which there is no thought of creating some particular form or designing some material object. So we find *bārā* used in Numbers xvi. 29 f., "If these men die the common death of all men . . . then JEHOVAH hath not sent me, but if JEHOVAH devise a device (lit. *create a creating*), and the earth open her mouth, and swallow them up; . . . then," etc. A similar case is Joshua xvii. 15 (where the Hebrew verb, according to M.T., is Piel), "And Joshua said unto them (i.e. the sons of Joseph), If thou be a great people, get thee up to the forest, and *devise* (or *provide*) for thyself a settlement there." So again in Ezekiel xxi. 24 [19, E.V., Piel], "Design (or *devise*) a monument (*or* stélé)" seems to be a better rendering than "Mark out a place" (R.V.). In short, *bārā* takes "God" as its subject in the Qal not because it means a superhuman making of something out of nothing, but because it implies the use of extraordinary powers of forethought and contrivance. God is in Hebrew thought pre-eminently a Designer and a Deviser. The suggestion that *bārā* is used in Genesis i. with the late metaphysical suggestion of a *creatio ex nihilo*, and that the word so used points to the authorship of P, cannot be sustained.

Dr. Driver has written that P's "representations of God are less anthropomorphic than those of J or even of E" (*L.O.T.*, p. 128). The test is difficult to apply in any case, and in the present passage it leads to no certain result. If we compare i. 24 with ii. 7 we shall doubtless affirm that the former passage is "less anthropomorphic" than the latter. A single glance at the two passages set side by side is sufficient.

Genesis i. 24	Genesis ii. 7
And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind.	And Jehovah-God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life.

On the other hand, can we affirm that Genesis ii. 7 is more anthropomorphic than Genesis i. 26, "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness"? If this clause be indeed the writing of P, then the test of more or less anthropomorphism must be given up. Surely it is preferable to acknowledge the strong anthropomorphism, and to assign the passage to J^2 or some cognate writer.

As we study the passage from verse 6 onward, we get the impression that it was arranged somewhat formally even in its earliest shape. The subject itself imposed such a form on the original writer, for it necessarily embraces a succession of analogous acts. J^2 (not P) is responsible for the reiteration of the responsive formulæ, "And God said . . . and it was so," and also for certain turns of language which seemed to P to call for glossarial additions. Further, we may ascribe to J^2 an unbroken thread of narrative carrying the story of Creation to its close. The following is offered as a *minimum* of his text. Further investigation might add a good many words and phrases to this brief outline, but as it stands it is sufficient to show that the thread of the story can be traced in language not distinctive of P to the close of chapter i.

And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters. . . . And it was so. And God called the firmament Heaven.

And God said, Let the waters under heaven be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear. And it was so. And God called the dry land Earth, and the collection of the waters called He Seas.

And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass . . . and fruit tree yielding fruit. . . . And it was so.

And God said, Let there be luminaries in the firmament of heaven

. . . to give light upon the earth. And it was so. And God appointed . . . the greater light to rule over the day, and the lesser light (and the stars) to rule over the night.

And God said, Let the water swarm with swarms [1] of living creatures, and let birds fly to and fro in the face of the firmament of heaven. [καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως = And it was so.]

And God said, Let the earth bring forth the beasts of the earth. And it was so.

And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness, and let them have rule . . . over all the earth. And God created man in his own image . . . And God blessed them, and said, Behold, I have given every herb and every tree unto you for food. And it was so. And God saw all that He had made, and behold it was very good.

This Creation story, whether we read it in this simple form or in its fuller later text, is a Hymn, a Universal Hymn indeed, in praise of the wonder-working Word of God. "Of God"—for the name at the head is not "Marduk" (the Babylonian deity) nor "JEHOVAH" (the God of Israel), but Elohim (ὁ θεός), the simple universal word, God. The nations as well as Israel had Elohim, and sometimes in O.T. Elohim in the mouth of Gentiles stands for the one Supreme God.

The Hymn celebrates God as the All-giver and the Almighty, or rather All-ruler, Controller of all, παντοκράτωρ in the language of the Creeds. It sings of God's Providence as loudly as of His Creation, as that word is ordinarily understood. From the beginning God provides for man: His first work is to institute the Day, with its two divisions of darkness and light, for man's rest and for man's work. His second is to provide a store-house for the rain. The third is to summon the dry land from the waters—to become man's home. The fourth is to ordain that the earth shall be fruitful—for man's benefit. The fifth is to arrange

[1] Hebrew *shereç*. The Hebrew root is reckoned by Driver as a characteristic of P, but in its original sense ("swarm") it is hardly "Priestly" language.

that Sun and Moon shall give light upon the earth—for man's sake. The sixth is to make the seas fruitful—for man's food. The seventh is to ordain that earth shall bring forth beasts—to labour for man. The eighth is to create man himself as the crown of natural things in the likeness of God, and (not too humble a work for the Divine Providence!) to assign to man his food. The Story of Creation is not merely geocentric, it is anthropocentric. This Hymn describes Creation as a Work devised in eight great acts by God for the sake of Man, God's favourite in the Universe. It is in praise of the Divine Power and the Divine Goodness. From first to last there is no passivity in this goodness; God delights in all that He does for man's benefit; "God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good" (ver. 31). In Genesis i., just as in Genesis ii., God provides for men the best of homes—a garden.

As we consider the noble elements of this prophetic hymn we are tempted to ask, What do they leave unsaid for the Priestly writer to supply? Why was P allowed to add to so magnificent a passage? The answer is perhaps that it is too magnificent, too prophetic for many minds. The less creative intelligence, the intelligence of the priest, was needed to bring home the truth of Genesis i. to the mass mind. The Priestly author carries out his task in three directions.

First, he expands the prophetical statements, giving details to fill out their outline. These details, moreover, he does not hesitate to repeat. The Eastern and the child and the "wayfaring man," whether Eastern or Western, love lists and particulars which bring home to them the truth, when general language fails. Fulness of statement and repetition of statement help simple minds, and

it is one great practical merit of P that he does not shrink from repetition.

Secondly, P has been at pains to combat any misunderstanding of certain phrases of the narrative in a polytheistic sense. It is true that the original narrative (as tentatively reconstructed above) is monotheistic. One God utters His *fiat* throughout. But an Israelite living in a heathen *milieu* and accustomed to the thought of a Supreme God attended by lesser deities, might find hints of such deities in at least two places. In verse 16 mention is made of a greater light (luminary) "to rule" the day, and a lesser light (luminary) "to rule" the night. Such language might be supposed by one predisposed to polytheism to have the same significance as the language of the Fifth (Babylonian) tablet:

"He (Marduk) gave the Moon-god (Nannar) his brightness, and committed the night to his care."

Thirdly, P arranges the eight Creative acts under six headings corresponding with the first six days of the week. If Genesis i. were intended to be a précis of natural philosophy we might stumble at this proceeding, and ask whether the six days signify six twenty-four hour periods or six æons of unknown (perhaps prodigious) length. But Genesis i. is a hymn of praise, and P has a religious motive in rearranging its parts and dividing the whole by the days of the week. Religious persons cannot help asking, When shall we give praise to God for the blessings of Creation? The Priestly Reviser of Genesis i. 1 ff. answers just as one responsible for daily Temple worship would answer. "On each of the first six days of the week let some work of Creation be celebrated, and on the chief day of Religious Observance, the Seventh, let the whole be commemorated as finished."

W. Emery Barnes.

"THE FUNCTION OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM." [1]

In the Holy Scriptures we have the Oracles of God committed to the Church, "the fair deposit," which has been given to us to "guard through the Holy Spirit which dwelleth in us" (2 Tim. i. 14). And in view of the sacred nature of our trust, and the responsible task to which you are looking forward of being the instruments in God's hands of communicating His truth to others, it is unnecessary to insist at any length on the duty of proving ourselves "faithful" stewards. The sense of responsibility, alike to God and to our fellow-men, can never be absent from a Divinity student's or a Divinity teacher's mind, if together they are to fulfil the purpose for which they are met.

That purpose in the class over which I have the honour to preside is the study of the Sacred Scriptures, and more particularly of the part which we generally describe as the New Testament. And it may not therefore be out of place if I venture to say something of the Function of Biblical Criticism—of what we are to understand by it, and of the gains that result from it. For criticism, in the wide sense in which I propose to use the word, may be defined as the intellectual process and disposition, the application of truly scientific methods to Biblical study, which alone can make that study fruitful in the highest and best sense.

There is the more need to insist upon this, because it is not the view that is always, or perhaps even very generally, taken. In the popular mind, and the fallacy may be found lurking even in certain clerical circles, criticism is too often believed to be the invention of certain modern scholars,

[1] An Address delivered at the opening of the Divinity Session of Glasgow University, October 11, 1921.

possessed of more ingenuity than reverence, whose main desire, like the Athenians of old, is "to tell or to hear some new thing" (Acts xvii. 21). And it is to be feared that the extravagances of some forms of modern criticism have lent only too much foundation to this belief. But, as a recent historian of the movement pertinently remarks, "the sins of critics no more impair the authority of criticism than the sins of Churchmen impair the right of the Church to exist." [1] And criticism, in the sense with which alone we are at present concerned with it, is simply the serious effort to understand in their widest bearings the sacred records in which God's purposes have been revealed.

It is perhaps unfortunate to use the word criticism at all in relation to the Bible. To those who do not know its history it is apt to suggest a kind of superior, if not actually fault-finding, attitude, and to mark off the scholars who apply its methods into a class by themselves. But the word has become too firmly imbedded in usage to be lightly dismissed, nor is it easy to find another which expresses so well the discriminating attitude of the true Biblical scholar, with his mind freed as far as possible from all presuppositions, open to receive the light from whatever source it may come, and supremely jealous of the Bible's right to be understood along the lines of its own meaning and purpose.

For criticism, that is worthy of the name, has always a positive end in view. It may have to call upon us in the interests of truth to modify many of the ways of looking at the manner in which God has made known His will to men, and to set aside certain long-cherished opinions regarding the origin and authorship of various of the books of the Bible. But it does not thereby lessen the authoritative

[1] Nash, *The History of the Higher Criticism of the New Testament* (Macmillan, 1900), p. 182.

character of the revelation from God which these books contain, or in drawing attention to the "earthen" character of the vessels lose sight of the treasure which is Divine (2 Cor. iv. 7). In the words of one of the greatest of Biblical scholars of modern times, the saintliness of whose character was no less remarkable than the extent and accuracy of his scholarship, the late Bishop Westcott—"The Biblical critic approaches the Scriptures from their literary side by the same methods as he would approach any other ancient writings, if with more scrupulous care and a more present sense of his responsibility. He examines their history with the frankest study of all available evidence, external and internal: he determines their interpretation with a watchful regard to the circumstances under which they were composed: he sees in them, in a word, a true monument of human experience through which the Spirit of God spoke and speaks to men."[1] And in accepting, as the same writer remarks elsewhere, "without the least misgiving, the canon that the Bible must be interpreted 'like any other book,'" the critic finds his reward in this, that "by the use of this reverent freedom he becomes assured with a conviction rational and immovable, that it is not like any other book."[2]

It may make this clearer, and at the same time help to disarm the suspicion with which the function of criticism, notwithstanding the support of such men as Bishop Westcott, is still often regarded, if we note the very common tendency to confuse between the methods of criticism as such, and many of its so-called results. For these results may or may not be true. Some of them, such as the composite nature of the books of the Hexateuch, or the non-

[1] *Lessons from Work* (Macmillan, 1901), p. 177.

[2] *Some Lessons of the Revised Version of the New Testament* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1897), p. 6.

Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, are now so generally accepted by scholars of all schools, that they may be held to be definitely proved. To others varying degrees of probability attach, and the most that can be said of them in the meantime is that they are good working hypotheses, which seem on the whole to meet most satisfactorily the facts of the case, but which will require much patient sifting and testing, before they can dislodge the older, traditional views. While there are others which can only be described as the vagaries and eccentricities of men, who, without any due sense of the momentous issues involved, seem inclined to try how far the credulity of mankind may extend.

But, be all this as it may, the point with which alone we are at present concerned is that even if the definite results of criticism were far less numerous and significant than we believe them to be, we must not allow that to blind us to the real and permanent value of the process involved in it. Dr. Sanday, whose recent death inflicted such a loss to New Testament scholarship, has somewhere said that what we specially need at this moment in our study of the Bible is "freshness—a real getting at the heart of the matter, instead of dallying with the outside." "And I question," he continues, "if we shall get this in any better way than by approaching our task under the guidance of Criticism and History—of Criticism and History, not as too often dissevered from, but united with, Religion."

Nor in doing this are we really embarking on any such novel and venturesome method of dealing with the Bible as some people would like to make out. For, to say nothing of the evidences of a critical spirit which may be discerned within the Canon itself, as, for example, in the manner in which the New Testament writers deal with the Old Testament Scriptures, we can never forget that the very formation

of the Canon was the result of a somewhat prolonged critical process, several of the books being accepted only after considerable hesitation and an anxious period of sifting and trial. If, too, under the influence of the allegorical system of interpretation, the historical and critical study of the Scriptures sank again into abeyance, it was only to be revised with fresh and greater intensity at the time of the Reformation. Criticism is of the very essence of Protestantism, for Protestantism "is the human answer to the divine call to 'prove all things.'" [1] And there is much truth in the words of Froude that "the work of the Reformation was done when speculative opinion was declared free."

I cannot stay to illustrate Luther's treatment of the Bible. It comes out, for example, in his description of the Epistle of St. James as "an Epistle of straw, which has nothing of the Bible in it," in the denial that the Apocalypse was inspired by the Holy Ghost, on the ground that it was pervaded "through and through with visions and images," and that "Christ is neither taught nor known in the book" —statements which go beyond anything that we would now be ready to accept as admissible, and which show how far the great Reformer himself was from maintaining the infallibility of Scripture, as it is laid down in Chillingworth's well-known dictum: "The Bible . . . the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants." But, without going further into details, enough has been said to prove that criticism in its spirit is at least as old as Luther, while in its present form and methods it can boast a history of nearly one hundred and fifty years.[2]

Its birth as a science was, indeed, first rendered possible

[1] J. E. McFadyen, *Old Testament Criticism and the Christian Church* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1903), p. 175.

[2] The expression "Higher Criticism" is said to have been first used by Eichhorn, whose *Introduction to the Old Testament* was published in 1780.

by the wider and more intelligent view of Inspiration, which then began to prevail in the Church. So long as the traditional view of Inspiration held sway, and not only every part, but almost every word of Scripture was believed to have been literally and equally inspired, and, therefore, of the same binding authority upon men, it is obvious that the books of the Bible were lifted beyond the range of the more searching and pressing questions which criticism raises. But with the recognition—a recognition which will hardly now be questioned—that we have no right to approach Scripture with any *a priori* theory of inspiration, but that rather by a careful and inductive study of the books themselves we must be led to see in what their inspiration really consists, came the discovery of a larger human element in Scripture than men had hitherto been prepared for. It was with this human element then, the persons of the writers, the manner and purpose of their writing, the amount and measure of Divine truth entrusted to them, that criticism was at once concerned, and that it has continued to concern itself since.

It could not of course be expected that such a change of front towards the Bible—the realising, that is, that God had embodied His revelation of Himself not, as had been formerly imagined, in an infallible statement authoritatively imposed upon the minds and hearts of men, but in a series of historical documents stretching over many years, and only properly intelligible when submitted to the ordinary rules of historical evidence and interpretation—could fail to be attended at first with a keen sense of loss, and that, even though the Church has now had a long period of time with which to familiarise herself with the spirit and methods of the newer criticism, there is still a wide-spread feeling of disquiet with regard to it. "It would indeed argue indifference rather than enlightenment," so it has

been truly said by one who himself suffered severely in the cause,[1] "if the great mass of Bible-readers, to whom scientific points of view for the study of Scripture are wholly unfamiliar, could adjust themselves to a new line of investigation into the history of the Bible without passing through a crisis of anxious thought not far removed from distress and alarm." And it surely becomes us, therefore, as stewards and students of the Word, however firmly we hold by the broad principles of modern criticism, and however certain some of its conclusions may seem to ourselves, to be very careful how we submit these conclusions to those who have not had the same opportunities of judging of their significance that we have had, and above all that we beware lest, by any hasty or ill-considered words of ours, we make sad the hearts of the righteous, whom the Lord hath not made sad.

At the same time I am very far from thinking that you will do well, in your future relations with your peoples, to ignore so completely, as some are tempted to do, the general methods and results of critical inquiry. We cannot, even if we would, shut their eyes to them. And if we leave them to gather their information, as at present they are so largely left, from books and papers avowedly hostile to the supernatural in every form, we cannot wonder that their faith is often severely shaken, and that they have come to believe that the Church has no answer to the difficulties that have been raised. I venture to think that one of our greatest desiderata at the present day is a series of short papers, written in clear, untechnical language, dealing with such questions as the Inspiration, the Authority, and the Criticism of the Holy Scriptures—showing how a change has arisen in these particulars in the Church's attitude towards the Bible, a change which, so far from discrediting the Bible,

[1] W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church.*[2] (A. and C. Black, 1902), p. 1 f.

has succeeded in placing its essential truths on a firmer and more impregnable basis.

The task is by no means an easy one. It has, on the one hand, to avoid the use of such theological words and phrases, which partly from age, partly from the changed circumstances of our time, have lost their power, and, on the other hand, it must guard jealously lest in the process of restatement and reconstruction the permanent elements of distinctive Christian truth are lost. For if, to borrow an illustration from the Old Testament happily applied in this connexion by a modern preacher, the wells which our fathers digged have in the course of years become choked, they are choked only. And those of their sons who set themselves earnestly to dig them for themselves will speedily discover that, after all, the wells are still the old wells, and that the truth which springs from them comes from the same living source.

But this positive presentation of religious truth has another side. By showing what Christianity really is, it has already disposed of a number of the attacks that are being made against it. For how often are these attacks directed not against the truth as it is in Christ, but against positions biblical, theological, and critical, that have long since been very generally abandoned.

Thus, to take a very patent instance to which reference has already been made, what comes of the attacks directed against the verbal inspiration of the Bible on the ground of the historical errors and inconsistencies that are found in it, when once it has been pointed out that the Church has never committed itself to any such doctrine, and that the sacred writers themselves do not make any such claim? "In all that relates to the Revelation of God and of His Will," writes Dr. Sanday in his suggestive lectures on *The Oracles of God*, first published in 1890, "the writers assert for themselves a definite inspiration; they claim to

speak with an authority higher than their own. But in regard to the narrative of events, and to processes of literary composition, there is nothing so exceptional about them as to exempt them from the conditions to which other works would be exposed at the same time. . . . The humanity is not lost: it is not even altogether transfigured: but it performs its office none the less. It is the medium through which the knowledge of God is imparted to ever-widening circles among the sons of men" (p. 74 f.). And, may we not add?—the very variety of the Bible's human setting, the to us almost occasional manner in which certain of its books have arisen, tend only to throw into brighter and stronger relief the marvellous unity of spirit which pervades the whole.

In order, however, to establish the true function of criticism in relation to our Biblical literature, it is not sufficient to meet the objections that have been urged against it. And, before closing, I may be allowed to gather up very briefly some of its positive gains.

1. One of these is undoubtedly the gain in reality which the different Scriptural writings thereby acquire. By showing how deeply their roots are imbedded in their own times, true criticism enables us to see in them a true possession for all time. And the book, which is proved to be a real record of life, enters on a fresh lease of vitality in its application to life.

One may point, by way of illustration, to the prophetical writings of the Old Testament. Criticism may almost be said to have discovered these. For instead of their being now, as formerly, little more than a storehouse from which the devout mind can draw isolated passages and texts of priceless worth, they are proved, in their true historical setting, to be also the embodiment of certain great spiritual and religious principles, which bear in the closest manner

on the national and social life of to-day. Similarly with the New Testament writings. The distinction between Epistle and Letter in the case of the Pauline writings, with which Professor Deissmann has made students familiar, may easily be carried too far. But it serves at least to emphasise how "popular" rather than "literary" in origin these Epistles for the most part are, and how frequently the Apostle adapts the current epistolary phrases of his time to his own purposes. Only by reconstructing for ourselves the situation out of which these writings rose—the state of the Churches to which they were in the first instance addressed, the actual men and women of whom the writer was thinking—can we hope to discover their present-day significance for ourselves.

2. Along with this criticism secures a corresponding gain in truth.

I do not, of course, mean that the facts and theories which modern criticism advances are necessarily true, and the older, traditional views necessarily false. On the contrary, as I have already pointed out, no one is more ready to acknowledge the provisional character of many of his theories than the true critic himself; while, on the other hand, one of the most remarkable features of what is generally regarded as the most advanced recent criticism has been what we may call its conservative reaction, or its return to the older positions with regard to the date and authorship of many of the books of Scripture.

But—and here is the gain—these positions are now no longer based on mere tradition or authority, but on the most thorough-going scientific inquiry, and are therefore enabled to secure an acceptance in many quarters which was formerly denied them. A very interesting witness to this effect is the late Mr. George Romanes in his *Thoughts on Religion* (1895), in which he shows how he himself was led

from a position of unbelief in the Christian revelation towards one of belief in it. It is with the assault of Darwinism from without, rather than with the attacks of negative criticism from within, that he is mainly concerned, but, with regard to the latter, he has the following striking note: "The outcome of the great textual battle [i.e., the battle in regard to the Christian texts or documents] is impartially considered a signal victory for Christianity. Prior to the new [Biblical] science, there was really no rational basis in thoughtful minds, either for the date of any one of the New Testament books, or, consequently, for the historical truth of any one of the events narrated in them. Gospels, Acts and Epistles were all alike shrouded in this uncertainty. Hence the validity of the eighteenth-century scepticism. But now all this kind of scepticism has been rendered obsolete, and for ever impossible, while the certainty of enough of St. Paul's writings for the practical purpose of displaying the belief of the Apostles has been established, as well as the certainty of the publication of the Synoptics within the first century. An enormous gain has thus accrued to the objective evidences of Christianity" (p. 155 f.).

3. Nor, once more, has criticism been less successful in removing certain objections, which have been urged against the teaching of the Bible.

Thus the contention that the advances of scientific knowledge have discredited various portions of it has no longer any force when we keep steadily before us the religious and spiritual end of all revelation, and so distinguish between the essential drift of its statements and the forms, poetical, allegorical, or otherwise, in which for practical purposes these statements have been cast. And so again with the more serious difficulties that arise in connexion with certain Old Testament tales and incidents, do not these tend to disappear as we learn to

recognise more clearly in the Bible the story of a progressive growth, of a Divine education, in which God led on His children step by step as they were able to bear it?

"It would, of course, be absurd," writes Dr. Lock in a recent notable address on *The Constructive Value of the Bible* (Mowbray, 1921), "to think that criticism has said its last word: there will be changes of view, there will be controversy, there will be advances: yet it is not too much to say that literary and historical criticism have given us a working hypothesis of the growth of the parts and of the whole which in its main outlines is not likely to be disputed: it has also qualified and to a great extent removed the fears and suspicions that were felt of it, by showing how true a progress is to be found in the resetting, how full of fresh spiritual teaching it is" (p. 31).

Such a method of study is by no means always easy. It means inquiry: it means thought: it means the reverent use of the historical imagination: it means that we shall often find ourselves obliged to admit what Hooker calls "a religious ignorance." But it has its reward. It brings home to us, as nothing else can do, the fact that, in dealing with our sacred books, we are dealing with real, living documents. It saves us from that mechanical reading, which is the Bible's worst foe. And it brings us into direct line with the example and teaching of Scripture itself, for, as Coleridge reminded us long ago: "it is worthy of special observation that the Scriptures are distinguished from all other writings pretending to inspiration, by the strong and frequent recommendations of knowledge and a spirit of inquiry."[1]

It is to this ever-deepening and ever-widening knowledge of Holy Scripture that, alike as teachers and as taught, we are called. And I do not need now to stop to remind you that if we are to be successful in our search, it can

[1] *Aids to Reflection* (Bell, 1884), p. 8.

only be as we realise in equally ever-increasing measure our entire dependence upon the Spirit who alone can lead us into all the truth. Clearly the Book, which is the result of the Spirit's working upon the minds and hearts of men, can yield up its full treasures only to those who approach its study under the same Divine guidance. As old Thomas à Kempis puts it: "Every Holy Scripture ought to be read with the same Spirit wherewith it was written." And again: "If thou desirest to draw profit [from the Scriptures], read with humility, simplicity, and faith."[1]

Entering, then, as we are on the work of a new session, may we not, Professors and Students, fittingly make our own the prayer of my late friend and colleague, Dr. James Hope Moulton, to which he gave such beautiful expression in almost the last lines which he wrote? They are entitled "At the Classroom Door," and bring out very touchingly the reverence, the awe, of the true Bible student.

"Lord, at Thy word opens yon door, inviting
Teacher and taught to feast this hour with Thee;
Opens a Book where God in human writing
Thinks His deep thoughts, and dead tongues live for me.

"Too dread the task, too great the duty calling,
Too heavy far the weight is laid on me!
O if mine own thought should on Thy words falling
Mar the great message, and men hear not Thee!

"Give me Thy voice to speak, Thine ear to listen,
Give me Thy mind to grasp Thy mystery;
So shall my heart throb, and my glad eyes glisten,
Rapt with the wonders Thou dost show to me."

G. MILLIGAN.

[1] *On the Imitation of Christ*, i. v.

THE PLACE OF SAINT AUGUSTINE IN THE HISTORY OF PREACHING.

Preaching is a species of two very different genera: on the one hand, it is a species of public speaking, and, on the other, it is a species of the means of grace.

Public speaking had a long and eventful history among the classical nations before the appearance of Christianity. It was one of the forms in which the Greek genius manifested its originality, and it was able to confer immortality, the living expressing their delight at the performances of the orator and chroniclers celebrating, for the pride of subsequent generations, the gifts of those who had excelled. In the political assemblies there were provided opportunities for the exercise of oratorical gifts of different kinds, both the senatorial in the more select ranks of the aristocracy and the more impassioned in the meetings of the democracy. A citizen was liable at any time to have to defend himself from some charge brought against him by his neighbours, though, in defect of being able to rely on his own powers of public statement, he might call to his side a gifted friend or neighbour, who, on this account, was called his *advocatus*. By degrees, however, the practice grew up of others besides immediate friends and neighbours availing themselves of the assistance of the eloquent tongue; and thus arose the office of the professional advocate, who was ready to undertake any cause that came in his way and received remuneration for the service. From this it was but a step when men appeared who undertook to train their fellow-citizens in the art of public speaking, either that these might play their part with dignity and success in public life or that they might follow the advocate's profession. Such were known as rhetoricians; and rhetoric means originally the

instruction of this kind imparted by them. But it came before long to have a more general application, being, in fact, nearly equivalent to what we now term education and comprehending a good deal of what we should now term philosophy, as well as the rudiments of what we should now call science. The teachers or professors varied exceedingly in both attainments and character, though there seems to have been always a besetting tendency towards pedantry and pretentiousness. But among the Greeks and Romans not only the art of public speaking, but the mode of teaching it, assumed a shape and consistency such as any science or art acquires when taught through successive generations, and its conclusions were embodied in works which to this day retain their value. In Greece Aristotle, in his *Rhetoric*, has left an imperishable monument of the results distilled from the teaching of generations of predecessors. In Latin, likewise, Quintilian, a man of Spanish origin, after spending a long lifetime as a teacher of his art at Rome, put together in his *Institutio Oratoria*, a treatise so comprehensive, wise and well-written as still to remain a standard work. But it was especially Cicero who not only attained to political influence and shining fame by his own efforts as an orator, but left to posterity, in no fewer than three treatises, the results of what life had taught him for the benefit of others.

When, on the other hand, preaching is identified as one of the means of grace, it is brought into association with a totally different range of ideas. Grace is a religious word, and it occupies a prominent place in the vocabulary of Christianity. It is the energy of God in the work of salvation, and it is assigned jointly and severally to the Persons of the Trinity. The grace of God the Father is His love for the guilty and the fallen. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ is prayed for, in the benediction, at the close of every

occasion of Christian worship. But it is specially with the third Person of the Trinity that the means of grace are connected. The theory is, that the salvation which was designed by the Father and impetrated by the Son is applied in detail, from person to person and from generation to generation, by the Holy Spirit. But this divine Being, in thus communicating the grace of God to sinners, makes use of means which, on this account, are known as the means of grace and hold a prominent place in all systems of Christian theology. According to the estimate of Protestants, the principal means of grace are three—the Word of God, read and preached, the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and prayer; and it may, further, be reckoned as a Protestant belief, that among these the first has the pre-eminence.

Not only theoretically but historically has preaching, as a means of grace, the closest connexion with the Holy Spirit. It was through the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, and the consequent power given to the preaching of the Apostles, that thousands were converted and the Church founded. In the Christian communities which then arose in the Jewish and the Gentile worlds, the multiplication of converts and the edification of believers were due to various forms of preaching expressly attributed to the Holy Ghost, whose spiritual gifts, imparted to the members, enabled them to take part in the services with unction and efficiency. When the Apostles passed away, their influence was retained in Holy Scriptures, which were, indeed, theirs, but were also believed to be the handiwork of the Holy Spirit.

Such was the atmosphere in which Christian preaching first arose, and it is evident how lofty and solemn was the character thus imparted to it from the first. It was the work of God far more than of man, and everyone was the

more able to take part in it the more he thought about God and the less he thought of himself. Its purpose was nothing less than the salvation of the soul and the achievement of man's eternal destiny. Not many great men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble might be among the audiences; but, humble as they were, they were conscious that they were working out a new kind of manhood and womanhood, in imitation of Him who was holy, harmless, undefiled and separate from sinners, and they were confident that the future of humanity lay in their keeping.

The view of preaching fostered by this kind of experience was manifestly very different from that of public speaking in the classical nations, being far removed from the self-consciousness of the orator or the arts of the rhetorician. Not only, however, did primitive preaching differ from public speaking, as conceived and practised at Athens and Rome, but it placed itself in conscious opposition to its spirit and ambitions. Of all the early preachers the one most fitted to enter, consciously or unconsciously, into the succession of the Greek orators was St. Paul, and the occasion in his life when he may have been most tempted to make use of his gift was when he was addressing the Athenians on Mars Hill. The speech delivered by him on that occasion is acknowledged by all judges to have been one of surpassing eloquence, when estimated merely from an intellectual and literary point of view. Some have, nevertheless, believed that, yielding on this occasion to the temptation to go over the score in obeying his own maxim of becoming all things to all men, if by any means he could gain some, he allowed himself for one hour to be more the orator than the preacher of the Gospel. At all events there was no point in his career at which he was less successful in gaining converts; and at the next place which he visited, the city of Corinth, as we know from his own testimony, he began his work

in a state of unusual depression and self-distrust. "I was with you," he said, "in weakness and in fear and in much trembling," and it looks like a reflection on the course which he had pursued at Athens when he adds: "I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and Him crucified." At Corinth, indeed, there was too much of the same spirit of curiosity and of the affectation of intellectualism which he had experienced at Athens, but he set himself in opposition to it: "Where is the wise, where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world? For, after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." What figures of the time he had severally in view by the three terms, "the wise," "the scribe," "the disputer of this world," may be doubtful, but the tone of suppressed contempt with which he speaks of them all reminds us of the terms in which the truly cultivated in Greece used to speak of the Sophists. Originally this was a respectable name, the Sophist being a combination of the rhetorician and the philosopher; but it became degraded into a term for a mere pretender to eloquence and knowledge. St. Paul's denunciation referred to persons of this class, whose philosophy and rhetoric he scorned.

It is noticeable, however, that, while saying, "My speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power, that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God," he pulls himself up immediately by remarking, "Howbeit we speak wisdom among them that are perfect"; and then he goes on, in one of the profoundest passages in his entire writings, the second chapter of First Corinthians, to claim that in Christianity there is a philosophy, high and sacred, which is the property of the

spiritual man and the Christian teacher. But if, while discarding the wisdom of the world, he thus claims a superior wisdom, might he not, likewise, have asserted the existence of a sacred rhetoric, by the use of which the power of the Gospel might be enhanced and the preacher of the Gospel assisted ?

This is the point at which St. Augustine comes in. He vindicated a place in Christianity for rhetoric on the same principle by which St. Paul had claimed a place for philosophy, and for so doing he was providentially prepared through the circumstances of his pre-Christian life. In boyhood and early manhood he had been trained, in both his native town and the capital of his native country, for the profession of rhetorician, and this profession he had exercised, before becoming a Christian, both in his native Numidia and in Italy. It was in Milan, in the North of Italy, at that time an imperial residence, that he was converted at the age of three-and-thirty, and he was at the time a professional rhetorician, giving instruction in the art to boys and young men preparing for public life in connexion with the court. Thus he knew all the tricks of the trade, so to speak, and was doubtless well acquainted with the standard works on the subject. When he became a Christian, being baptized by Ambrose at Milan, he gave up the rhetorician's calling and entered the Church, where in no long time he became a bishop, distinguishing himself in every branch of episcopal duty, but especially in preaching, in which he excelled all his contemporaries, as well as such eminent predecessors as Gregory of Nazianzus and Chrysostom in the Greek Church. It was in grasp of Scripture and in practical application to actual life that he chiefly excelled ; but there is no doubt that the culture and experience gained during his life as a rhetorician helped to guide his efforts and to influence his style, which was much more restrained and chastened than

that of the eminent Greek pulpit-orators just mentioned. In his house in the town of Hippo, where he was bishop, he carried on a kind of college for training those who were to be ministers, giving these the benefit of all his varied experience ; and he was afterwards celebrated for the number of men of intellectual eminence and spiritual power sent forth by him into the ministry.

Towards the end of his life there occurred an incident which proved to be of the greatest importance in determining the place of St. Augustine in the history of preaching. He happened to be revising his writings, which were very numerous, and which he desired to leave in a state of completion, when he came upon a treatise of his own on Christian Doctrine, which was incomplete, the writing having broken off in the middle of the third book, whereas the original intention had been to make it consist of four books, three of which were to be devoted to the mode in which the preacher should derive his doctrine from the Scriptures, while the fourth was to treat of the mode of communicating to others the doctrine thus obtained. As has been said, the first part had been left incomplete, and the second had not been written at all. The book, in fact, had been written many years earlier and had not been one of the author's happiest efforts. The first part, on the mode of obtaining Christian doctrines from the Scriptures, had been largely occupied with warning preachers against blunders into which they might fall through lack of such information as a modern preacher would find in any good Dictionary of the Bible, and, indeed, St. Augustine's early work might be entitled a plea for a Bible Dictionary. But, when he took up the work again, he felt that the other part, which had not been written at all, presented a great opportunity—an opportunity, in short, for putting down all that he had learned during his entire life, first as a rhetorician, then as a

preacher, and then as a teacher of preachers, about the art of conveying the message of the pulpit to the audience. Evidently his mind was captured by the task; he made the fourth book longer than the rest, though not very long, and he packed into it the experience of a lifetime. He is composing all the time with ease and celerity; he knows thoroughly what he is talking about; shrewd and striking sentences come to his pen unsought; and this is, in short, one of the most modern and immortal of his compositions, as it is the earliest work of genius devoted to this subject in the Christian Church.

He pleads for true religion getting the advantage of the orator's art, instead of this privilege being left to the enemies of Christian truth and the teachers of falsehood. "The art of rhetoric," says he, "being available for the enforcing either of truth or falsehood, who will dare to say that truth in the person of its defenders is to take its stand unarmed against falsehood—that those who are trying to persuade men of what is false are to know how to introduce their subject in such a manner as to put the hearer into a friendly or attentive or teachable frame of mind, while the defenders of the truth shall be ignorant of that art—that the former are to tell their falsehoods briefly, clearly and plausibly, while the latter shall tell the truth in such a way that it is tedious to listen to, hard to understand and difficult to believe—that the former are to oppose the truth and defend falsehood with sophistical arguments, while the latter shall be unable either to defend what is true or to refute what is false—the former, while imbuing the minds of their hearers with erroneous opinions, are by their power of speech to awe, to melt, to enliven and to rouse them, while the latter shall, in defence of the truth, be sluggish and frigid and somnolent."

He remarks that in the Bible itself there are passages of

the most undoubted eloquence, and, in proof of this, he analyses a passage from Amos and another from St. Paul in exactly the same manner in which a rhetorician might have analysed a passage from Homer or Demosthenes, exhibiting its structure and giving to its beauties the technical terms of the school. It may be that the Biblical writers were unconscious of what they were doing; but this was all the better; because a preacher is happiest when "wisdom is his guide, eloquence his attendant: he follows the first, the second follows him: and yet he does not spurn it, when it comes after him."

He maintains, in like manner, that, since the close of the canon of Scripture, the foremost teachers of the Church have, consciously or unconsciously, been eloquent men; and the gifts which those converted in maturity brought with them from the rhetorical training of their previous life he compares to the articles which the Israelites, having borrowed them from their neighbours, brought with them out of Egypt. "What a quantity of gold and silver and garments was Cyprian, that most persuasive teacher and most blessed martyr, loaded with when he came out of Egypt! How much did Lactantius bring with him! And Victorinus and Optatus, and Hilary, not to speak of living men! And prior to all these, that most faithful servant of God, Moses, had done the same thing, for of him it is written that he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."

He quotes the very maxims which the greatest writers on eloquence have emitted about their art and shows how they apply to preaching. For example: "An eloquent man must speak so as to teach, to delight, and to persuade; to teach is a necessity, to delight is a gratification, to persuade is a triumph." These are the very words of Cicero, in his work entitled *The Orator*, but they apply equally to the

preacher. The preacher, "when he is urging a practical truth, must not only teach, so as to give instruction, and please, so as to keep up the attention, but also sway the mind, so as to subdue the will." "He then who, in speaking, aims at enforcing what is good should not despise any of those three objects—either to teach, or to please, or to move—but should pray and labour to be heard with intelligence, with pleasure and with obedience."

Another maxim of the same teacher is that there are three styles—the subdued, the temperate, and the majestic—and the eloquent man says little things in the first, moderate things in the second, and great things in the third. Now, it might be maintained, on the contrary, that in religion there are no little things. Pence, for example, may be little things in law, but honesty or dishonesty about pence can never be little, for, "as the nature of the circle, viz., that all things drawn from the centre to the circumference are equal, is the same in a great disc that it is in the smallest coin, so the greatness of justice is in no degree lessened, though the matters to which justice is applied be small." Yet there is a sense in which Cicero's maxim about the three styles has its application even in religion. Take, for example, the greatest religious object of all, namely, God Himself. When instruction is being given about the Trinity and the relation of the Persons to one another, the subdued style—that is the clear, unadorned statement of matters of fact—is appropriate; but, when the benevolence of the same Being and the beauty of His works are being described, the temperate style comes into play; but, finally, when the holiness of God and the terror of His law are being brought to bear on the conscience, the majestic style is in place, subduing the hearer with awe and reverence.

No sermon ought, however, to be all in one of the three styles. On the contrary, one style ought to succeed another

for the sake of variety, and one to throw another into relief, so that the majestic style, with which a discourse most naturally terminates, should be the more impressive because of the restraint observed in the earlier parts.

Such are the main outlines of this historically important utterance of the North African Father, though it would be easy to quote from it not a few other remarks which would be acknowledged to be of the greatest value. Conscious as he is of opening up a new pathway, he does not overdo his part. He is well aware that the rhetoricians were often extravagant in their estimate of the wares with which they were trading, producing in their disciples extravagance and self-conceit. The more sacred the work of the pulpit is, the more painful is the spectacle of a man who, in that position, "buries small and unimportant truths under a frothy mass of ornamental words." If the choice lies between substance and form, St. Augustine has no hesitation in preferring the former—"The man who cannot speak both eloquently and wisely ought to speak wisely without eloquence rather than eloquently without wisdom." In framing a theory of preaching, as well as in the actual practice of the art, Augustine's own inclination was to rely on the vehemence of mental emotion excited by the great objects of religion, the warmth of feeling suggesting the fitting words. "If a brave man be armed with weapons adorned with gold and jewels, he works feats of valour with those arms in the heat of battle, not because they are costly, but because they are arms; and yet the same man does great execution even when anger furnishes him only with a weapon that he snatches out of the ground."

In short, St. Augustine did not solve the question, but only started it. The question is, whether the preacher should rely only on the naked force of truth and the assistance of the Spirit of God or whether, besides, he owes it to

his task and to the Master by whom the task has been entrusted to him to make use also of such qualities as diligence in study, elegance in composition, and passion in delivery. This is a question which comes up again in every generation, and which every preacher who takes his vocation seriously must put to himself. It is a testing question, and I am less concerned to give a deliverance of my own upon it than to raise discussion among those concerned.

It might have been expected that this new departure of St. Augustine would have issued in the creation of a Christian Rhetoric as one department of theology, and it might not be impossible to find, among the innumerable books published on preaching, one bearing this or an equivalent title. But, on the whole, it has probably been well that in our own country at least, preaching has been considered chiefly from the opposite point of view. When a subject can be subsumed under two such diverse categories as public speaking and means of grace, it is not a matter of indifference which of the points of view is primary and which secondary; and it is healthier that preaching should be associated with the unostentatious and painful labour of the cure of souls than with the publicity and the triumphs of oratory. Still, St. Augustine successfully vindicated a place for his own point of view; and in any generation circumstances may arise which make its claims imperative. When, for example, in Foreign Mission work, the persons dealt with are the most highly educated in a heathen country, who are capable of defending their own religion or some eclectic essence of all religions with knowledge and argument, or when, in Home Mission work, a preacher has to face orators of the street who have saturated their brains with the system of Comte or Marx, the soldier of Christ can hardly be said to have taken to himself the whole armour of God if he has left out the information of the

economist or the skill of the dialectician. Even among those who are inside the Church the bond keeping them there may be less secure than could be desired, and what is required to strengthen it may be a more obvious mastery on the intellectual or literary side; and the Christian preacher is a debtor to the wise as well as to the unwise. It ought never to be forgotten that even in the membership of the Church there are those whose heart is in the world and who are living in known sin, and these require a kind of assault on their indifference, with more in it of the day of judgment than is common in the pulpit. There are feelings far deeper than admiration that can be excited by Christian eloquence, and the preacher ought to know where these fountains lie. In the book itself from which I have been quoting there is an instance of this given with which I may close: "At Cæsarea in Mauritania," says St. Augustine, "I was dissuading the people from that civil or worse than civil, war which they called Caterva (for it was not fellow-citizens merely, but neighbours, brothers, fathers and sons even, who, divided into two factions and armed with stones, fought annually at a certain season of the year for several days continuously, everyone killing whomsoever he could). I strove, with all the vehemence of speech which I could command, to root out and drive from their hearts and lives an evil so cruel and inveterate; it was not, however, when I heard their applause, but when I saw their tears, that I thought I had produced an effect. For the applause showed that they were instructed and delighted, but the tears that they were subdued. And, when I saw their tears, I was confident, even before the event proved it, that the horrible and barbarous custom, which had been handed down to them from their fathers and their ancestors, of generations long gone by, was overthrown; and immediately that my sermon was finished, I called upon them to give praise

and thanks to God with heart and voice. And, lo, with the blessing of Christ, it is now eight years or more since anything of the sort was attempted there. In many other cases, besides, I have observed that men show the impression made on them by the powerful eloquence of a wise man, not by clamour of applause so much as by tears, sometimes even by groans, finally by change of life."

JAMES STALKER.

PAUL UPON PRAYER.

A STUDY OF PRAYER IN 1 THESSALONIANS.

IN the Pauline Epistles no attempt is made to treat prayer in a section by itself. It is always related to the central truths of the Gospel, and to the whole Christian experience which responds to that truth and grace. There is no systematic analysis of prayer, and no apology for it. The saints of course will pray ; for to pray is a vital necessity ; but whatever light is cast upon prayer is cast incidentally. It is in itself an axiom of the spiritual life ; and if sometimes it comes into the range of expression it is not that it is absent at other times. It is always there ; but sometimes it is mentioned when it bears with peculiar relevance upon the themes of the letter.

It is only a superficial reader who could miss the fact that for Paul religion was rooted in prayer. All his many activities as thinker, evangelist, churchman, spiritual guide were nourished by a life of prayer, rich, continuous and varied. For the most part that life is hidden from us ; but there are glimpses and hints which tell us all we need to know.

To study his life of prayer as it emerges in this Letter to the Thessalonians is not to find any intellectual defence of prayer, but something far rarer ; it is *to strike shafts into an*

inner life of amazing intensity. In this letter, even when the Apostle is treating the practical and local needs of his Churches, he reveals, without meaning it, the strength of his own hidden life. Such a life as his could not have been lived without an inner life of wealth inexhaustible. "Can the rush grow up without mire? Can the flag grow without water?" (Job viii. 11). In trying to discover Paul through his prayers it is possible to learn why it was he endured to the end.

In 1 Thessalonians there is a phrase used several times which indicates that prayer was for him a response to a Living Person, Other than he yet One with him. "Before our God and Father"; "before our Lord Jesus"; the same word ἔμπροσθεν is used in such phrases (i. 3, ii. 19, iii. 9, iii. 13); it must imply the experience of one who stands or kneels before the face of his Divine Lord. For him, as he prayed, the first movement of mind and heart must have been to set himself in the presence and under the control of One, whose grace came first. *Prayer was an answer*, not a question. It was his response to One, before whom his life was spent. It was a response to a Living and Present Person. Prayer, in the specific use of the word, was the definite activity of all his being, when he became most conscious of that which was always the master fact of his life.

And in the forefront of his thought and hope there was the anticipation of the perfect life when he and those whom he loved would stand *before Christ in His coming*: ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ; (iii. 19); the facing of the Divine Lord must be a facing of Him in all His revelations past, present, and still to come. The Christ before whom He stood was always the Christ who came once in great humility but would come again in glory. If we conjecture how Paul would have taught a beginner the

way of prayer, it may be said that he would have taught him first of all to be still and wait before the Lord ; to listen before speaking ; to set himself humbly before that wonderful reality, from whom and through whom and unto whom were all things.

This life of prayer is described in language that seems extravagant in the light of the attainment of the average Christian. "We give thanks to God always for you all, making mention of you in our prayers ; remembering without ceasing your work of faith and labour of love" (i. 2 and 3). He prays "night and day exceedingly" (ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ) ; and this practice of continuous prayer he commends to others : "Pray without ceasing" (v. 17, ἀδιαλείπτως) : this is happily rendered by Dr. Moffatt, "Never give up prayer." Such was one characteristic of prayer as it was understood by the Apostle ; it was "without ceasing," it was an exceeding great work which claimed night and day, and it must never be remitted. Such claims could only be made by one to whom *the presence and action of the Living Lord was also a continuous reality*. A new season of prayer was the renewing of a conversation interrupted, but not ended. It was never his to give up prayer, because he could never think of his Lord as intermittently present. The strength and constancy of his prayer had their source in the cardinal fact of all his Christian life ; the grace of God was first, and faith meant that life was offered as a response to the offer of grace ; through faith the soul escaped from the poverty and weakness of a human life lived in isolation from God. Henceforth there was nothing which was not of God. "I live, and yet not I, but Christ in me." In the same way the life of prayer became constant and unremitting simply when it ceased to be a human cry to God, and became a communion wherein that which was of man was no longer held apart from that which was of

God. That mysterious but transparently real experience lay behind this language in which the Apostle with boldness of speech tried to do justice to the wonder of this new life of fellowship with God. It was continuous as the need of man, it was continuous as the grace of God.

If the contents of the prayers which were poured forth from that devoted soul are analysed, they are seen to be first of all *thanksgivings*. That continuous prayer, which he had learned to know, must be steeped in thanksgivings because it is an answer to the changeless mercy of God. "We give thanks to God always" (i. 2 and 3). "For this cause also thank we God without ceasing" (ii. 13). "For what thanks can we render to God again for you, for all the joy wherewith we joy for your sakes before our God?" (iii. 9). "In everything give thanks." It seems as if the Apostle made every time of prayer a season of thanksgiving; he turned prayer to praise. What is it he sees as he stands before his Lord? It is not that the light of Christ streams only upon his own life; he sees it radiating in a thousand ways upon other lives, and his soul is thrilled with wonder and gratitude. The constantly renewed experience of the grace of God in Christ Jesus breaking into every human soul where there is the least readiness to receive it, draws from the Apostle a stream of adoring praise. The presence of Christ is a reminder of His grace to the Apostle himself. But not that by itself; he does not think only of personal blessings; he rejoices in *the grace which has been at work in the lives of his converts*. As he traces in them the growth of their Christian character, and experiences with them the joys of Christian fellowship, his heart overflows with praise. Their work of faith and labour of love, what were they but acts of the same Hand, which he had learned to know—what but renewed evidences of a grace so personal and yet so universal?

But prayer, even while it remained in the key of thanksgiving, included petition; and it is significant to note in this brief letter how the mind of the writer is revealed in his prayers as utterly unselfish. His heart turns always towards his converts, his babes in Christ Jesus. He hungers to see them (ii. 17); he longs for news of them (iii. 6); he feels his very life is bound up in their victory over their temptations (iii. 8). For them he prays; as he stands before his Lord, he lifts their lives with his own into the light of the Divine purpose: "And the Lord make you to increase and abound in love one toward another, and toward all men, even as we do toward you: to the end he may stablish your hearts unblameable in holiness before God, even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints" (iii. 12 and 13). He never thinks of himself as alone in the presence of his Lord; he is one of a fellowship; the thought of the body of Christ is no idle metaphor for him; he is always in prayer a member of that holy society; and as he brings his own life so he brings the lives of all his fellow-members into the perfect light of Christ Jesus. And for them he prays that the will of Christ may be fulfilled. It is not his first concern in prayer that he or they may be happy or prosperous; but that they may become what *they were already seen to be in Christ Jesus.*

But he also desires the prayers of his friends. "Brethren, pray for us" (v. 23). He knew that fellowship withers if all the giving is on one side and all the receiving on the other. If it is the purpose of God that prayer should be offered by His children one for another, and if much depends upon that intercession, the conditions cannot be fulfilled if Paul prays for the Thessalonians and they do not pray for him. If they depend upon him, and without his prayers they are poorer, it follows that he, a member of the same body, depends upon them, and without their prayers he will suffer. There

are saints who are for ever spending their souls in prayer for others, and never seem to need anything for themselves; they seem at first glance higher in the scale than they who frankly throw themselves upon the love of their brethren, and seek their prayers. Yet in the perfect Christian life *there is a delight in the support and fellowship of others.* The fully developed Christian will not be one who always sends out holy and mighty prayers for others, and never receives. Indeed through a false unselfishness many saints have suffered loss; they are unwilling to receive what others are hungering to give; and by their own unselfish giving they rob others of their share. It is significant that the Saviour before His last agony in Gethsemane begged His disciples to pray with Him.

For the Apostle the fellowship in prayer must be complete; his love cannot be satisfied till he receives proof of their love; and his own need is only met when they demand the Divine resources for him. Thus prayer is for him a real spiritual bond; it is a link between him and those from whom he is separated in the flesh. Only as there is a perpetual exchange can his desire for fellowship be satisfied.

But the peculiar situation which drew forth this letter has its bearing upon the character of the Apostle's prayers. It is scarcely necessary for us at this hour to remind ourselves that the Apostles and their converts stood "by the bedside of a dying world." The old order was passing away. The supreme difficulty which beset the faith of the Thessalonians came with the thought that the familiar world-order was speedily coming to an end; what then would happen to those of their number who had been called away, or might be called away in the *interim*. Again, the thought of the impending revelation of Christ tended *to paralyse their activity; and they were in danger of losing tranquillity of soul*, which is a condition of true service. Their world-

outlook might easily cause panic, or bring a certain inertia; there might come terror or even impatience. What it should bring, the Apostle said, was not terror but sober watchfulness, not impatience but calmness and assurance (v. 1–12). This was the temper of those who lived the continuous life of prayer. It could be attained by them and by them alone. This calmness is the fruit of a life spent amid the wonders and certainties of the Divine grace. There is a certain quality of character which can be revealed only in those who have learned to pray. Such a character, humble and yet assured, watchful and yet calm, belongs to the children of the light. The end is clear, however blurred the vision may be now.

The habitual reference of life to the ever present Lord brought calmness in the days of agitation and suspense. Is the character of the present age so far removed from that of the Apostolic age? An old order is passing away, and with it there is the loss of much that is familiar and secure. We, as they who were the first to enter into the Christian hope, are compelled to find resources sufficient for such an age of crisis. We no less than they are in need of the steadying power of a life, whose roots are in prayer. In the presence of the same unchanging Lord, with all our powers adjusted to His will, firmly and lovingly one with the Brotherhood, never forsaking prayer, we too may hope to attain to that same steadfastness and quiet power. For this was the supreme reward of prayer in Thessalonica, and it still remains: it assures the soul that the future, however terrible it may be, however full of startling wonders and sudden reversals of all that is familiar and homelike, means Christ and salvation in Him, and life with Him. "Faithful is He that calleth you, who also will do it."

EDWARD SHILLITO.

ST. PAUL AND WOMEN.

THE modern movement for the more complete emancipation of women, which has already brought about many changes, and is destined to bring about more, has had at any rate one disastrous consequence—it has sharpened and made more articulate the animosity of women against the great Apostle of the Gentiles. It may be said indeed that the great majority of men and women do not trouble their heads about the opinions or the views of any New Testament writer; they are content to believe that these opinions, these views, are all right religiously speaking, but they would not take them seriously in an argument of to-day. There are, however, many women, as devout as they are intelligent, for whom the sayings of St. Paul about women form a very serious stumblingblock, and give rise to much angry criticism. Let us assume that the trouble is a real one, let us consider frankly what it comes to, and then let us see if there be any way out of it. If we listen to these women, discounting what is merely "picturesque" in their language, what mostly (and most naturally) enrages them is the saying of St. Paul in 1 Corinthinans xi. that the woman was created "for" the man (i.e. for his benefit), whereas the man was not created "for" the woman. On this difference between them he founds the demand that the woman should always be veiled in Church, and should always have something on her head, as a sign of being under authority, whenever she appeared in public. This apostolic precept, like some of the decisions of the "Council of Jerusalem" (Acts xv.) may have been in the nature of a temporary concession to popular feeling. But it was certainly a very strong thing to say that the woman (as such) was created "for" the man. How strong it was may be estimated by the fact

that the like could not possibly be affirmed in the case of any of the lower animals. No one, e.g., would dream of saying that the tigress was created "for" the tiger. The distinction between tiger and tigress has been, and is for certain purposes, obvious and well marked, but they have lived all these centuries on a practical equality; and so it has been (and it is) with almost all other living creatures. In point of fact the distinction of sex, although it exists, does not at all affect that unity and equality of natural life which is the common rule. To assert, therefore, that the woman was created "for" the man, whereas the man was *not* created "for" the woman, is tantamount to saying that the Divine Creator of mankind not only discarded evolution as the method of His highest creative work, but discarded the analogies of it also, and made an entirely new departure. That women should mislike an utterance which does (in an important sense) set them below the level of tigresses, or even of female spiders, is not surprising.

It may be hoped that the foregoing does adequately realise the seriousness of the matter before us. Now let us look at another side of it. In Galatians iii. St. Paul lets himself go (as men say) with a freedom which is as honest as it is thoroughgoing. Nothing sophistical, nothing conventional, nothing premeditated even, here. And he says (iii. 27, 28) of *all* who were baptized into Christ "there *can* be neither Jew nor Greek, there *can* be neither bond nor free, there *can* be no male and female." It is an amazingly strong assertion. It is not enough for him to say that the distinction of sex, like that of nationality, like that of social and political status, is overruled and made of no account in Christ; he says that the other distinctions (which the world made so much of) cannot even exist; he says that the most fundamental of all, the distinction of sex, cannot exist either. In a word, if anyone be in Christ, it does not matter,

and it cannot matter, one straw whether the person concerned be a Jew or a Gentile, a slave or a citizen, a man or a woman. Such distinctions do, of course, exist for the world, in secular life, and have to be taken into account there ; in Christ, in religion, for the purposes of Christianity, they not only do not count, but they cannot even claim to exist. However much one tries to make strong one's language, one feels that it is impossible to do justice to the sweeping and peremptory character of this inspired outburst ; one feels that here one is up against the most fervent convictions of the greatest of Christian teachers and thinkers. In Christ, he exclaims, *there can be no male and female.* If he meant what he said to the Galatians—if there is any sense or meaning in his words—he has cut away from beneath his own feet the whole ground of his teaching in 1 Corinthians xi. 3–16 ; he has made any such teaching impossible for evermore. So it would certainly seem. Let us stop and consider this awhile. Consider, in the first place, that no other sacred writer—certainly no other New Testament writer—has voiced with anything like the same assurance or vividness the complete equality of men and women as Christians. It is only fair to bear this in mind. There may be great difficulty about such a passage as 1 Corinthians xi. 3–15, but the chiefest of the difficulty is how to reconcile it with Galatians iii. 26–29, another utterance of the same Apostle. Surely this fact makes a great difference.

Consider, in the second place, the general truth, so unmistakable, so easily illustrated by example and quotation, that the New Testament teachers (beginning with our Lord Himself) do not try (as *we* do, and in duty must do) to teach by means of carefully balanced and guarded statements, but by a method far more effective when it may lawfully be used. Habitually, in their teaching, they strove to do one thing at a time ; they set their faces towards

some one aspect of the many-sided truth—the aspect which concerned them just then; they saw nothing else for the moment; they went to the very outside of what is true in that particular direction; and they asserted it—as men say—without mitigation or remorse. We (if we be sound thinkers) must always be suspect of "hedging." They never hedged. Another time, and in another place, the complemental truth may be—generally speaking, *is*—put as prominently forward. But the two affirmations are left to determine and limit one another; the inspired writer is not concerned to reconcile them. Take for an example our Lord's discourse in St. Matthew xxv. 31–46. It is obvious to all intelligent readers that we have here, *not* (as the world has supposed) an account of the final Judgment, and of the principles on which it will rest (a matter, probably, which passes man's understanding at present), but a eulogium upon "charity"—like unto that in 1 Corinthians xiii., but more effective, and more splendid. If a man were to say, "Very well, then, as long as I show abundant lovingkindness to the unfortunate I need not trouble about anything else, I may live as I please, and do what I like," we should know that he was mistaken, and could easily prove it to him from other Scriptures. Yet the man would have much to say for himself; there is not a word in this very solemn utterance about any other virtue than benevolence; there is no hint that purity, that integrity, that love of justice, are even desirable in a Christian. Yet by universal acknowledgment, there is not any Scripture more admirably effective for its own purposes than this. One thing at a time, with all possible concentration of purpose and emphasis—that is one, at least, of the secrets of the marvellous power and success of the New Testament writers.

Consider again, in the third place, that St. Paul only uses the manner of speech objected to when he is concerned

with the women of the Greek world—or of that Græco-Roman civilisation which was then becoming dominant. This is certainly the case in 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians; it is also the case in 1 Timothy, for Timothy was sent to look after the Christians at Ephesus (1 Tim. i. 3), a great centre of Græco-Roman civilisation and culture; and the animadversions in 1 Timothy ii 8–15 were intended for Timothy's flock rather than for himself. What then was the character of these women? Up to a certain point the answer to the question is quite clear. They were, as heathens, lightly esteemed, and not allowed anything like the same liberty of life and action as their Hebrew sisters. In 1 Corinthians vii. St. Paul takes for granted that a Greek maiden will have no say whatever in the matter of her own marriage. So completely does he take it for granted that he is quite unintelligible to the great majority of English readers, to whom such ideas are foreign. It is only when they read in the Revised Version about a man's virgin-*daughter*, that they realise the actual state of affairs at Corinth. Women, it appears, were so little esteemed, so little trusted, so much kept in subjection, that a young woman was never asked whether she would wish to be married or not. It was entirely the affair of the father, and of no one else. It is certainly noteworthy that it is of marriages thus made that St. Paul writes so gloriously as he does in Ephesians v. 22–33; but that is another matter. Just now we have to consider that it was upon women thus secluded, thus contemptuously treated (as we should say) that there came the trumpet-call of the Gospel, with its splendid assertion of the absolute equality of men and women in God's sight, with its wonderful testimony to the value of the individual. All these girls, clever by nature, ignorant by plentiful lack of any useful education, were suddenly let out of the prison houses in which they

had been immured. What was likely to follow? A frightful scandal—of the nature and strength of which we may judge by the evil reports which in point of fact passed current for centuries concerning the proceedings at Christian assemblies. That, and, to set it agoing, a general kicking over the traces on the part of the female Christian population, such as St. Paul must have dreaded more than anything else. It would have ruined his work, and blasted all his hopes.

Consider, lastly, that the apparently glaring opposition and incompatibility between St. Paul in Galatians iii. and St. Paul in 1 Corinthians xi. does not begin with his writings—it dates back to the very beginning of the Bible. When the great Apostle wrote so splendidly to the Galatians we may safely take for granted that he had in his mind Genesis i. 27; when he wrote in a strain so different to the Corinthians we know that he was thinking of Genesis ii. 20–25. And that brings us to the heart of the question—to the real crux of it. The difficulty is *not* that St. Paul (apparently) took the story in Genesis ii. at the foot of the letter, as though it were literally and historically true; it was inevitable that he should, for science, research, investigation, had not then put us on the right track and taught us to look for something of a far higher value in these records. The real difficulty is that these records of creation are themselves so incompatible and point in such diverse directions morally and spiritually. First of all, let us cast out as utterly evil and illegitimate the habit made fashionable by the genius of Milton—the habit of piecing on the story in Genesis ii. and iii. to that in Genesis i., as if they were continuous or even compatible, and of covering up the artificial juncture thus made by a number of incidents for which there is no authority at all. The fact is, of course, as almost everybody knows now, that Genesis i.–ii. 3 forms one story of creation, Genesis ii.

4–iii. 24 another, distinguished from the former by all manner of differences in diction, in style, in point of view, etc. They proceed on different lines, and (it may be safely concluded) proceed from different minds. In nothing does the difference in point of view show itself so much as in respect of woman. In the former story she appears simply as the "other half" of man; "in the image of God created He *him*; male and female created He *them*." In the latter story, she is intentionally created to be man's comrade, but lets him down horribly through her instability of character. It may be very reasonably surmised that the second story of creation (contained in Gen. ii.) arose at a time when women had fallen much in themselves from their original, and still more in the estimation of men. The great and terrible problems of sin and death pressed hard on the minds of thinking men. If they asked "how came they there in God's world?" it had to be answered that they came in—partially, at least—through woman, her folly, her wandering desire, her instability of character. If there was, as commonly believed, a single pair from which all were descended, then the woman must have had a later and lower origin than the man to account for the inferiority of her character. It was, maybe, in an atmosphere of thoughts and feelings such as these that the legend of Genesis ii. and iii. had its rise.

But it will be said, "Is not this record too inspired? is it not in the Bible? is it not true?" Certainly it is. The old Babylonian legends, of which these are Hebrew variants, were taken over by the Spirit of Inspiration; were freed from the polytheism, the folly, the obscenity, which disgraced them; were made vehicles for conveying the highest moral and spiritual truths to all generations of men in all the world. But they remained, and they remain still, just legends, without any scientific or historical truth. In certain respects they are (perhaps) unintelligible; in certain

other respects, incompatible—because accommodated to different standards and views of life. This is especially the case with regard to women. The sexes had reacted unfavourably upon one another; and, as usual, the ill effects had fallen chiefly on the weaker. It need not be denied that the second legend of Genesis (chaps. ii. and iii.) gives a much less favourable account of women (their origin and character) than does the first. But it is not therefore the less true. It was, indeed, less true to the *ideal*, as in Genesis i. 27; but it was more true to the actual condition of women in that old world; the woman (as such) was no longer the equal and the comrade of man; she was his property (as in the tenth commandment); to be kept safe, she had to be more or less enclosed; she passed from the authority and guardianship of her father into those of her husband; she could not be trusted, because it was her business to cajole, and her source of power to be attractive. To explain all this—which belonged to the actual position of women in the then civilised world—it was necessary to credit her with a secondary and derivative origin, a separate creation which never took place and which is tacitly ruled out by Genesis i. 27. The representation is not scientific, is not historical, for woman had no other origin in fact than the fiat of the Almighty which crowned His work of creation with the creation of man in his own image—of man, whether male or female, boy or girl, man or woman; but we have to do with things as they are, not as they were intended to be, and ought to be. For this reason the second legend of Genesis ii. 4–iii. 24 is just marvellously true and valuable. Open as it is to criticism, to invective, to a cheap and easy kind of sarcasm, it has held its own and holds it still, not so much by its wonderful picturesqueness as by its truth to the facts of life as they are and by its fidelity to character. If—as far as women are concerned—that fidelity is not to

character as it ought to be, but as it *is*, this is not the fault of the legend, not the fault of the inspired record; it is the fault of mankind, it is *our* fault. Now St. Paul found this story of woman's separate creation, and of her interview with the tempter, in his Old Testament; and he took it—as he was bound to do—as literally and verbally true. Does anyone wish to find fault with him for doing so? Does it seem surprising to anyone that he should have eagerly seized on this record, and drawn his deductions from it, in order to beat back into subjection those unruly women of Corinth, of Ephesus, of all the Hellenist world, of whom he was so horribly afraid? He never unsaid the great and glorious deliverance of Galatians iii. 28; he never turned his back on the principle there laid down; but he *did* allow himself to draw deductions from the story of Eve which must have *seemed* to be inconsistent with that principle. I think if we had asked him about it, he would have replied, "Yes, I know it seems inconsistent; but I did not mean it so; the truth which I declared to the Galatians belongs to God's *ideal* of things—that ideal which we are striving with small success to bring back into the world—that ideal which some day or other a Christianised world will be glad to acclaim; these other truths, which I have insisted upon because I was in great fear and anxiety, belong to the very inferior *actual*, which we owe to failure both of men and women—in a word, to sin; it is a sinful world with which we have to do; therefore were these Scriptures written for our learning."

One might add that this legend of Genesis ii. and iii. which is so extraordinarily true, so unexpectedly true, in so many ways, for all of us—as our consciences bear witness—tends to become more and more true to the facts about the character and influence of women, in exact proportion as the effects of Christian teaching are cast aside. We might cry

aloud to the emancipated women of Great Britain and America, and say, "Look well at Genesis ii. and iii., O ye women of keen intelligence, for here you may see exactly what the great world of all ages has thought of you, has found in you; here you may see exactly what you *are* apart from Christ, and from His Gospel."

RAYNER WINTERBOTHAM.

ASPECTS OF CHRIST.

I.

THE other day I came upon a syllabus of lectures to a class of Christian workers and teachers, which struck me as being most wide, consequent, and comprehensive, involving history: ethics: consideration of divine revelation and its progress: heart-preparation and world-preparation: the secret of seed-time and harvest: the time, form, and melody of the song divine; the chart of the voyage of the soul; and the wonder of the guiding star. It set forth the Teaching of Jesus: Comparative Religion: Geography of Bible Lands: St. Paul and the Churches: the Religious ideas of the Old Testament; and the Presentation of the Christian Message. Before one could be a Christian Teacher he would require to have these clearly before his consciousness, and they should provide him with an invaluable equipment. The matter made me think of some aspects of Christ.

II.

The teaching of Jesus is not a note-book teaching. It was carried in the heart of believers, and passed from them into the hearts they touched. And so it was never forgotten, because it became a portion of their lives.

The *Grand St. Graal*,—one of the great romances of the Court of King Arthur,—representing the full development of the materialistic mysticism of the Middle Ages, claimed for itself the actual authorship of Jesus Christ; and it declared that besides itself He wrote only the Lord's Prayer and the judgment on the woman taken in adultery. Certainly, in these we get a very compressed teaching in regard to God and man, man and God, man and his work, man and his recompence, man and the source of his power, the relationship of man to man, and especially the crowning grace of charity in act and thought. Throw in the Beatitudes,—the blessednesses of life,—usually printed as seven, but in reality nine; one for each day of the week, and two over,—these two most difficult, because connected intimately with continuous daily experience,—and see what we have. It is the addition of Grace, with the atmosphere of tender love, in which the God-born soul walks fearlessly through the world, homewards.

If then we add the practical commentary of the Sermon on the Mount, we are brought into touch, through that, with the wonderful lesson of the blind man who sets up to cure cataract; and the whole law of judgment is revealed. You receive your measure in the same dish from which you serve others; and the tang of your thought of others tastes their thought of you.

Now in thinking of wherein these teachings of Jesus mark advance, and what they contribute to what already was, we have to consider what Christ's times knew, and what our times know, in regard to other religions, and the teachings and circumstances of systems outside Judaism. That involves a large and deep study.

We know—more or less—sometimes at first hands, and at other times only through interpreting the knowledge or

interpretations of other people—the principles of Egyptian and Babylonish myth and religion ; the teachings of Buddha and Confucius : the multiplicit multiform of Oriental beliefs ; with the rites and superstitions of primitive races, folk-tale, folk-magic and folk-customs, which make up the religions of the world ; because the earth has lost its mystery and unfolded its secrets before the constantly restless inquisitiveness of travel and discovery, to a degree unknown to the Jew.

The Jew was not a traveller by choice. Certain influences, however, of Egypt and Babylon, had inevitably crept into and filtered through the minds of prophet and priest, in consequence of national experience, in exile and conquest, bringing in a sense of world-width, and a knowledge of Greek philosophy, Roman law, and foreign enquiry into life's origins and relations. But the Jew was conservative, because of his national and religious pride ; and it may be that he accepted far less than we think he did, or than we expect he should have done.

In regard to what the Jew had in his religious books, the teaching of Christ certainly contributed a kind of chemical change,—a spiritualising and transfiguring grace ; a broadening view, opening out to a wide horizon for the soul ; a closer knowledge of God, as Father, King, Saviour, Judge, and true Providence ; a more intimate knowledge of man and especially of one's own self ; above all, a lively hope in the deathlessness of the soul.

In the Old Testament a very noble summary was found in the Ten Commandments, wonderful and comprehensive, a real basis of advance, representing a rich treasure-trove of many tides. Therein you find God one, spiritual, holy,—not a God far off among the stars, but Providence, whose love pervades all human life, and guides aright all human desire. Therein you find marked out a circular pilgrimage

of the soul, *from* God *to* God, through the life, rights, and duties of man,—the divinest highway.

In the Old Testament, also, there were gleams of great hope,—as, for example, in the thirty-fifth chapter of Isaiah, where we see that God's man is the man who makes the wilderness blossom as the rose ; who wears paths through the trackless waste ; who is eyes for the blind, feet for the lame, a voice for the dumb ; while the way to God is just the way straight on before the feet even of the simplest.

The desponding heart, child of sorrow and sighing, is promised that it shall " overtake joy and gladness." Taking this in conjunction with the psalm of the shepherding of God—the twenty-third—in which the soul is told how God's angels of Goodness and Mercy follow it to the door of the House eternal, we learn the depth of the environing love of the Divine. " You think," say these, " that you have nothing to live for. Lo ! joy and gladness are on ahead. You think you are shadow-chased. Lo ! Goodness and mercy are at your heels. The one shall wait for you ; the other will overtake you. And between them you will be brought safely in, right over the threshold, to dwell in the knowledge of God."

In the Old Testament, also, are adumbrations of the perfect laws of spiritual economics, as learned in the experience of the nation and the lives of individuals. Sin,—and you are on the lip of judgment, though its external manifestations be delayed. Slay,—and the sword has a double edge, which, while it kill your enemy, may certainly cut your own hand. *As—so*—beats the pendulum *tic-tac* of the judgment of the soul.

III.

In the teaching of Christ are the seeds of the great forest of developed Christianity. One can even see how the

weeds in the forest grew, or whence arose the latent heat which sometimes burst through that forest with destructive flame. The very joy of God in a heart can break it. The very fire on the hearth may burn the home and reduce the forest to ashes.

The constant conflict of the soul with its environment and the world within,—its struggle with its own destiny,—is a familiar fact since ever man began to think. The dawn of knowledge, while it gave a quickening impulse to self-interest, gave, as it expanded, a deepening sense of the insufficiency of self. The acknowledgment of the need for a Saviour grew out of that, everywhere, and in every age.

The history of that conflict is the history of the soul from the beginning. Its defeats are disasters of God as well as of man. Its victories are as jewels on the crown of Christ as well as of humanity. Its record is the story of civilisation and of salvation. Neither the sinner nor the saint finds rest in it. The tug of the devil is in it constantly, and so is the constant appeal of the highest good.

The fact of this continuous warfare, written in the life of humanity, is the best proof of Christianity, both as a necessity of man, and as a gift to the race, lifting the soul above its apparent doom of ashes and dust. For, what Christ taught He was not alone in teaching, though He taught it most divinely and effectively of all. The best men of all ages and creeds taught truths which either foreshadowed or confirmed His system. Every generation has had its men and women who have seen the star of hope beyond the bounds of their prison-house. The inspirations of noblest spirits, the enlightened efforts and blind gropings of all that is best in pagan systems of religion and philosophy aim at the same goal as Jesus Christ sought, namely, liberty from the bonds of the flesh; triumph over the mastery of

lust and meanness; the uplifting grace of true and pure affection; the realisation of the kingdom of eternal truth; with untrammeled progress towards Almighty Good.

This activity leads towards fulfilment of Christ's most moving dream, through which He said, "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold. Them also must I bring; and there shall be one flock and one shepherd."

This it was that gave to ourselves, in our remote islands, the chance of becoming children of God,—we who were in the dirt of savagery and bloody passion of feud, making us also pilgrims of light, kindling hope through the dynamic of the Cross,—"no longer strangers and foreigners; but fellow-citizens with the saints; and of the household of God."

To-day we need to get a closer view of Christ,—more than ever,—hampered as we are often, by doctrinal uncertainty, tired of the search for the truth which is to make us free,—our faith now confused by contradictions of crude criticism, and now startled by "oppositions of science falsely so-called." Yet that faith is confirmed, in its basic elements, by the testimony of the Holy Spirit to the Redeemership of Christ, finding its last sanction in the fact of Christian charity,—of love as the root of faith,—hope as the anchor of the soul,—and religion, richer than ritual, convention, and sectarian passion. Whatever section of belief forgets that, cancels its claim on true Christianity. The Inquisition, the rack, the cross, the martyr-fires, the cruelty of partisanships, the pride and arrogance of conclaves and assemblies,—the Pope who fulminates anathemas; the priest who forbids the altar, making Holy Communion a sacrament of the Church rather than the sacrament of Jesus Christ; the Presbyter who denies the open door,—all are wrong, having forgotten the Spirit of the Lord, and making salvation the property of narrow

households rather than the right of all God-seeking humanity.

The secret of victory is in the old Book still,—the well from which our fathers drank, and never thereafter knew fear. It is Christ, only, who makes us free. He, only, gives us true citizenship. His spirit, only, makes us greater than conventions of creed and ritual, writing upon us the marks of nobility of the Sons of God, whether we be Protestant or Catholic, Episcopalian or Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Baptist, or what you will.

IV.

Christ's teaching differed from all before Him because it is a life as well as a word,—a soul as well as a garment,—a thought as well as an activity, because it permeates matter and spirit. Christianity is not a thing of rules but a practical energy, a fact of human and divine facts,—something that has to do intimately with a man's daily task. Hence it is really inevitable. Whoso tries to avoid it must stumble over it; whoso would ignore it runs up against it in the dark; whoso denies it is condemned by its testimony at the bar of conscience and of God,—because it is the air he breathes, the weapon he must use, the vocabulary he must think in, for all that is best. It is his soul's health,—the only instrument that does not break in his hand, to his wounding. Unless he shut his eyes to it and close his heart deliberately, and so deny his heritage, he cannot pretend it is not there. For then, his heart becomes starless. And, like the far faint echo of a bell somewhere, ring the words of very deepest portent,—"If the light that is in you be darkness, how great is that darkness." If you pluck the stars out of your heaven, your own darkness is greater than that of all others besides.

Though Christ's teaching dealt with God it was not theological in our sense, as an articulated system. Theology

is the reason *Why*, or the method *How*: Religion is the fact of God in the soul. Christ's teaching was more religious than theological: Paul's was more theological than religious. Paul set Christ's facts in order, and made an argument out of them in the life of man.

Christ taught that God is, and what God is, and especially that He was Father, and a loving Father. Of course, good men believed already that whatever God there was should act as best men would act, when by their actions they claimed to be good, knowing good and evil. Christ proved that this meant, in its highest degree, as a father would act when guided by that noblest love which is a father's love. In this, we must never forget that Truth is always ageless, and without dialect or geography. Its field is the world. Its date is all time. Its application is revelation. So, when Christ knocked upon the door of the soul's house and awoke the sleeper within, it was the hour of the highest unfolding of the Divine.

Some think of Christ only as the great Teacher; some, only as the great Doer. But He came to teach as well as to do; and both His teaching and doing held the secret of life for humanity. Nothing else in Holy Scripture can claim to be on the same level as His teaching. His supremacy must never be confused with the position of the Apostles, however high. *They* brought people to the feet of Christ, but He made *them* what they were. He kindled the flame in them, as a man might light a lantern by breathing on it. He not only tuned their hearts, but set the melody within them.

Comparative Religion only shews Christ higher and surer in His place, as viewed along with the other founders of great religious systems or schemes of philosophic thought. Of course, some people object to any comparison of Christ

with other teachers. But it is His right. He Himself demands it. He said, "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." And while the task of winnowing the grain from the straw in Sakya Muni, Confucius, Socrates, and others, is continuous, Christ shines on as the Sun above all other lights. His *words* may be what they like,—He Himself is a force. He gave the earth a divinely human and a humanly divine ideal; and it abides in actual lives of men and women. That He always differed from what men knew,—that He was out of the level of the best with which they were familiar, is always evident, for they kept nudging each other, and asking, "Who is He? Whence is He? This is not what we have been accustomed to."

He is *primus* absolute, not *primus inter pares*. So Christianity, if it is not, ought to be *Christ*, not Paul or any other. You find in Paul, still, the Rabbi Christianised,—the Rabbi whose thought has become winged. But in Christ you do not find only the village carpenter enlightened, but the absolute divine, awakened to its fulness, understanding all.

In the light of Old Testament prophecy, in consideration of the condition of mankind, and alongside of the fact of God, Christ was born of necessity, Saviour. He must be so, or God, in history, might as well be but vapour, like the smoke genie of the Arabian magic, confined in a bottle; and all earth's mystery and pain moving on its way of wailing into the dark.

The very failure of Christ, as it seemed to men to be, was His success, and proof of what He is, namely, Saviour of men; for only by suffering can sin be overthrown, and only blood can bring together and cement the broken edges of the human and divine.

It may seem wonderful that the well-prepared field of Israel did not fructify, but the seed was too much trampled,—

there were too many *spermologoi* and too much stooping over dust. But the crucifixion lifted Judaism up with a force that burst its chrysalis.

In Isaiah's time and in Daniel's there was a full tide running; but these were succeeded by a reaction of stagnation, dogmatism, and intellectualism. The scribes climbed into Moses' seat, and the fire smoked instead of flaming. There was straw on the altar in place of coal.

Now, religion illumines or darkens the world within and the world without. And so the best of the Old Testament folk taught the duty of industry, honourableness, and justice in all good; and, living it, made a world of worth around them. Sometimes they got a glimpse over the wall of Jewish narrowness and bigotry; as when a cry is flung across the shadows that nations which knew not God should come yet to Him, through the mission of Judaism—a fact not widely felt by the Jews, who thought of their religion as final, and not as an avenue to a higher and far nobler plane. Job, Moses, David, were all great teachers of God's truth revealed; but in Christ the door was opened into an ageless eternity,—the divine was roused and crowned in man,—the divine in man got hold upon the human that is in God, and the hand of God gripped the divine in man, upliftingly and redeemingly.

V.

In combination with Christ and His message comes, of necessity, consideration of Bible lands; for geography is History's best commentary. Palestine was thus sure to be a thought-quickening territory; a land whose people were to learn to think of mercy and of judgment; the anvil of human and divine purposes, on which many a blade and spear were to be broken to dust, and many a thought hammered and tempered into hardness.

It lay between Egypt and Assyria. It was the turnstile of Greece and Rome on their way to world conquest. It was beaten into the white heat whose spark is Poesy. It was the focus of smouldering ashes of crushed nationalisms whose red core is Prophecy. It was where the reed was trampled in the sedges by the feet that passed for the quest of power.

But it is out of oppressions that saviours are born; out of depressions that optimists spring; out of the ruin of man comes the glory of the vindication of God. Out of scattering, spreads the broadening flame that kindles what is ready for the blaze. That was the function of the banishments to Egypt; the Exile; the preparations of Alexandrine philosophy, and Grecian Gnosticism, which, even in their rejections, were for the enrichment and settlement of Christian facts. Thence sprang ideas of world-conquest; roadmaking; pathfinding. Then came language moulding, and welding of wide and narrow ideas into ideals, and last, the Fulness of Time, the Grecian Paul, and the far-flung Churches,—the Christ-leaven in the world-meal. The tides went out, over all the shallows, and the ship of God went with them, with the love of Christ at the helm, the saints at their places, and the clouds uplifting over the doorways of the furthest stars.

In Christ's time a pedantry uninspired had usurped the guiding of the Spirit of God in Israel. The soul had not room to grow. Like another Gulliver, it was bound in a Lilliputia of doctrines and arguments of men,—shackled, blinded, and withheld by bigotry and spurious knowledge. Under this régime, spiritual purity,—the clean heart—had become a matter of washing hands; the external and material had become the measure instead of the internal and spiritual; the solemn face and not the grave mind,—the whine of piety and not the song of praise,—the long

prayer at the street-corner rather than the close and secret communion with the Divine, had become the marks of the life that was worthy of commendation. The bondage of tradition, the slavery of the book, the smoke of weeds rather than the flame of the burning bush,—in fact anything but the test and appeal of common sense, rarefied, clarified, and sanctified in the daily life in contact with the love of God and man, became the final thing.

Christ did not question the right of rabbis and others to study, weigh, organise and arrange. But He resisted to death their claim to arrest the right of other men to think and love and live.

Religion with Him was not the tying down of the soul into shapes prescribed by tradition or convention. It was the wind on the wheat, ripening; the breath in the forest, awaking the song-birds; the joy of the sunshine, stirring the world to life; the spell of the stars, giving dreams to the soul; the power of the hills and streams, moving the imagination of men; the wonder of Galilee's quiet places, and of the long streets of towns; the right of the sorrows of men to beat on the doors of God: the privilege of the labours of men to seek a divine benediction; the kingship of fact over theory,—of daily achievement over arrested programme. As for the thousand restrictive interpretations of the Law, like ligatures on human life, God's revelation in Christ was not for the building of prisons for the soul, but for the awakening of the human spirit to liberty,—not for the reefing of the sail of the ship of the soul, but to fling it free to the wind, following the stars beyond the confining horizons.

The Fathers who succeeded the apostolic age, and the great legal-logical theologians of the Middle Ages and the Councils, took up the work of the Rabbis; and therein the

hatreds, persecutions, and separations of Churches and Sects find much of their real sanction. They were of the things that pass. But Christ's words abide as the real and final charter of the soul.

Erskine's "Rax me that Bible!" shews us wherein is the Magna Carta of the enquiring spirit. We have always to get back to that. In fact, the history of religious progress is a series of breakings into the buried palace where the sleeping king has been overwhelmed by ashes of successive upheavals, or heaped with dust and stones, and for a while forgotten.

The winds of the Spirit are not blown by. Revelation still goes on. God's world is a progressive institution. There is always something new and fresh to teach; just as with the Apostles. The message is always presented in measure of the times, of course; but always, also, with a forward thrust in it, as the growing tide comes up to the last wave-mark, lingers a little, and then slips a little ahead. So the teacher has always the halo of To-morrow touching the shadow of To-day, upon him.

VI.

The power of Christ's teaching is in its humanness,—in the importance of feeling over knowledge. He gave a place to emotion. That is why a university is not heaven. The true secret of life is not in the hands of pedants and grammarians.

Paul wrote; Paul knew literature; and could quote poetry. Jesus knew the holy books of the Jew. But He was not a literary preacher. Men have often overlooked His disclaimers in regard to certain parts of life's concerns. He did not teach Science. He taught God,—a tender, loving, intimate Divinity. He eschewed politics; He did not even condemn such a patent wrong as slavery: yet

when He taught honour and love, with God the universal Father, He thereby demanded purity in the one, and doomed the other. Of course He taught nothing about strikes, but He undoubtedly taught the right of free contract. He would not decide questions of rates or division of property. He left the Herodians to choose which they would serve—God or Cæsar—with the penny by which they paid their taxes and saved their fortunes. These things were dealt with already by specialists. His business was the saving of the soul from sin. He knew the soul to its inmost depth,—diagnosed its disease, and said at once where it ailed, and what was the divine remedy. The Upper Room was His college of graduation: and His example there was lowliness of service. He washed His disciples' feet in the moment of His highest power. He was among them as one that served. Love, faith, dedication, consecration are His tests finally.

He turned the world upside down, and its blood ran back to its heart. The world's blessedness was for the rich, the prosperous, the men who made money if they had ships, or wool, or timber, or whiskey to sell when emergency made a market for these. The man who gets and gains is always counted a success. But with Jesus the measure is neither money, nor success, nor praise, but personality, character, the conquest of desire, the lowliness of the true heart, the saintliness that makes a man a soul-saver, a life-sweetener. His man is the man who dares to make the venture of faith, no matter what of persecution, pain or death may be the accompaniment of his enterprise, for truth's sake, and for love and honour. To the world, the lowly were to be beaten, or thrust out of the way,—a mat for the feet of the proud, a mockery for the violent. The saintly were a good subject for the lampoonist, or for a comic picture of the caricaturist. The martyr was a fool.

But, since Christ, the best history of humanity has been built upon the graves of such, and woven out of their dreams and achievements; for they were those who lived, not saying, but doing,—not even resting in doing, but loving as they lived,—not with "Lord! Lord!" on the lips while the thought was rebel in the citadel of the soul, but making their lives a part of the will of the Father in heaven. They were the salt of the earth, the light of the world, life-bearers, love-wearers.

The Christian religion is the Teaching of Christ. His Sermon on the Mount is the garment of the Christian soul in its pilgrimage, the end of whose quest is the liberation and salvation of the soul so that it may see God.

The Beatitudes, therefore, are the standard measures of all good men and true. According as a man gets up alongside of them, and abides, is he gauged finally. They enable everybody to beware of imitations. They concentrate not on doctrines but on facts. A doctrine has no abidingness. It may to-day revolve around the world, and to-morrow the world may revolve around it. The way to truth is strewn, as with the withered leaves of Vallombroso, with ruined doctrines. The saints step from dogma to dogma that has been found by them to be only religion dried to a stone. The fields of Church History are marked at successive stages with scarecrows in the shape of angels; found out to be only bogeys. Not Christology, nor Ecclesiology, but the life of Christ, as in His living Word, abides; and you can light every flickering hope at it, to a fresh vitality. What is outside of the life of Christ is shadow; but what is within is eternity.

Of course the failure of man in all this is not the failure of Christ. There are souls that perish in spite of Him. The dead apples in a garden have their own secret of their fall, and it may have nothing to do with apples. These are not

measured by rotten twigs and dead branches. And men go on planting orchards, notwithstanding.

VII.

In earlier days Science was presented in terms of Revelation ; nowadays Revelation is presented in terms of Science ; but we begin to see that neither of these can stand alone. Look at the great growth of the ages. See the significance of the discoveries of Astronomy. It seemed as though Galileo modified Galilee ; but he really opened the door to a vaster vista. And Columbus extended Christ's field, making possible the very latest of the missionary army of our own day. The geographical explorers have made, in verity, the world the platform of Christ.

So also elsewhere. Alexander, Cæsar and Napoleon shook the nations to divine reactions, not knowing fully what they did,—building more nobly than they knew. The Great War's cataclysm blew the dust from the foundations of the Cross, exposing fossil deposits of belief ; and brought men again to the Rock of Ages. We cannot ignore what we find there. More and more we do find the roots of the world's best life twined around the foot of Calvary, and the solution of the world's problem in the Words and Character of Christ. He is the Way, and the Door of the highest life : the inspiration of the lowliest and the holiest ; the sanction of honourable trade and enterprise ; the Light of the home ; the Comforter of sorrows ; the Vanquisher of Death : the source and final dwellingplace of the endeavouring spirit of mankind. As such He must be presented without limitation and without fear, if the world is to be illumined with the hope of the dawn, and the souls of men brought again into true nobility of life and conduct. And the world's necessity to-day is calling for that.

Lauchlan MacLean Watt.

"THE CHIEF CORNER-STONE."

UNDER the word ἀκρογωνιαῖος the authors of the *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* quote from some architectural notes on Ephesians ii. 20 f. by W. W. Lloyd in the *Classical Review*, iii. p. 419A (1889) the following words :—

"The *acrogoniaios* here is the primary foundation-stone at the angle of the structure by which the architect fixes a standard for the bearings of the walls and cross-walls throughout."

Perhaps our first feeling on reading this is that we might have thought it out for ourselves, for that there must be such a stone to start with, and that it will determine the lines and bearings of the walls seems self-evident.

It seems no less evident that the figure so understood portrays most aptly the relation in which our Lord stands to the Universe and the Church and His all-pervading significance for both. It would be of great interest to see whether the word ἀκρογωνιαῖος itself may not point to this as the function of the corner-stone, and whether the two main passages in the Old Testament suggest the same idea.

I.

The fact that ἀκρογωνιαῖος is, so far as we know, a word coined by the LXX, at once suggests that it was needed to express what γωνιαῖος did not. To take it as describing a stone as occupying the "tip" or "extremity" of the corner is to fail to account for its coinage, for such an enrichment of the simple adjective is pointless. It is true that in most cases ἀκρο- has the sense of "extremity" or "surface" in composition. But ἄκρος very early came to be used "of degree, *the highest* in its kind, *first*" (L. and S.), and in the most familiar of its compounds it has this

force, namely *ἀκροθίνια*, "*the choice part, first-fruits of the field, of booty*, etc." (L. and S.). Whether we picture to ourselves the dividing of the spoil or the setting apart of the first-fruits of the harvest, it seems more natural to understand *ἀκροθίνιος* to mean "belonging to the *best* heap" than as "belonging to the *top* of the heap." Choice spoils and choice sheaves would be put by themselves as *ἐξαίρετα*.

On the analogy of *ἀκροθίνιος* so taken, *ἀκρογωνιαῖος* would mean "belonging to the *first* or *chief* corner," i.e., the *primary* corner, by which the architect determines the "lie" of the whole building. Such a sense would be eminently fitting both in the New Testament passages and in those from the Old Testament on which they rest. These latter we must now notice.

II.

The fundamental passage is Isaiah xxviii. 16: "Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, *a tried stone, a precious corner* (*stone*) of sure foundation" (R.V.).

The Hebrew words rendered by A.V. and R.V. *a tried stone* are literally "*a stone of testing.*" Vitringa renders them *lapidem explorationis*; Delitzsch, *einen Stein der Bewährung*, adding, "Dieser Stein heisst אֶבֶן בֹּחַן, ein Stein der Prüfung, d. i. ein der Prüfung für den Zweck der Bewährung oder ihres Gegentheils dienendes." Kay writes, "*a tried stone*, lit. a stone of proof; which may mean either (1) one that can stand every kind of test, . . . or (2) that tries whatever is laid upon it, and brings out their qualities." But a stone may well be called *a stone of testing* if every other stone has to be laid in a line determined by it, is laid rightly or wrongly according as it is or is not true to this primary, standard stone. If this be the meaning of the Hebrew words, they might well have been represented

by λίθος δοκιμασίας found in Sirach vi. 21 of a weight to test a man's strength.

The words which follow, *a precious corner-stone*, may well be meant to bring out the dignity and importance of the corner-stone as exercising this office of testing in virtue of its primary position. Here Maurer renders *angularem lapidem praestantiorem*, adding "proprie *lapis angularis pretiositatis.*"

The next verse (v. 17), "I will make judgment the line (or 'rule') and righteousness the plummet" carries on the thought of "stone of testing" (cp. Kay "for a plumb-line; to test the truth of each stone and its fitness for a place in the building").

The words רֹאשׁ פִּנָּה in Psalm cxviii. 22 can mean either *chief corner*, i.e., "first," "primary" corner, or "*head* (i.e., '*beginning*') *of the corner*" (see Oxford Lexicon under רֹאשׁ 3).

It would seem, then, that we have reason to believe that in Holy Scripture the corner-stone is regarded under its essential and necessary architectural aspect as that which determines the lines and bearings of the whole building. In Ephesians ii. 20 f. all the great "Envoys" and "Prophets" of the era of foundation-laying from Abraham onwards fulfil their function only through conformity with the will and purpose and spirit of "Himself Messiah," now seen in "Jesus," the Corner-Stone.

G. H. Whitaker.

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